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PENTAGON STUDY CASTS DOUBT ON ARMS NEGOTIATIONS

DW181203 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 17 Jan 83

[Albert Reiss commentary]

[Text] In Washington a study by the U.S. Department of Defense has just been published which is being assessed as an arms policy directive for the next 4 years. Albert Reiss comments:

The U.S. news agency UPI which published the study and even more the authors in the U.S. Department of Defense who composed it certainly did not intend to confirm statements of the Warsaw Pact states on alarming elements of Washington's policy, but they did it nonetheless. Briefly, this study of 136 pages on arms policy requirements for the period 1984 through 1988 contains the following main ideas:

First, the United States is to reserve for itself the first use of nuclear weapons in Europe. Second, the U.S. Armed Forces are to be adequately equipped for a prolonged nuclear war and armed conflicts in the Gulf region as well as in space. Third, the United States under no circumstances is to come out of a nuclear war without nuclear weapons while the enemy still has such weapons. Fourth, the United States must not sign any agreement prohibiting nuclear military bases in space. Fifth, maximum priority is to be given to timely implementation of NATO's decision on missiles.

Dear listeners, on the one hand, this is the program of all-out nuclear war on land, at sea, in the air, and in space. On the other hand, this is also the program for a war of aggression, as when the United States says it reserves for itself first use of nuclear weapons in Europe. This makes it quite clear, also, to those who may not have been aware of it that the Warsaw Pact is considered the potential enemy.

There is another aspect. The assertion by the United States and NATO that first use of nuclear weapons will be considered only in the event of a conventional attack by the Warsaw Pact states is incredible and a totally noncommittal empty phrase. It will remain incredible and an empty phrase as long as the United States refuses to comment on the proposal contained in the Prague declaration on an agreement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the renunciation of the use of military force, or beats about the bush, as some people do.

For this attitude, which practically boils down to a rejection, there is no explanation but that the United States wants to keep its hands free for a nuclear first strike. However, this is the concept of military aggression; this is where the problem begins and ends. How is the alleged U.S. preparedness to sincerely negotiate and seriously study the Prague proposals and Yuriy Andropov's disarmament offer to be assessed, if at the same time such documents by the department and secretary of defense, which are interested most of all in an arms buildup, are released. Who is to be given a signal, and what does it mean?

In this light the dismissal of Eugene Rostow as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency becomes all the more mysterious. Documents of this kind as well as armament programs requiring enormous expense are solid practical criteria for an assessment of the American strategy. The end of the problem, however, is that the premises of this policy are wrong.

The U.S. Economy is overtaxed. The number of Americans is growing who warn about underestimating Soviet economic capacity. Most NATO partners are concerned. Moreover, there is the President, whose statements vary from time to time, indicating thereby that there is trouble in the administration. President Reagan currently is trying to dispel doubts about his negotiating preparedness. However, as long as such documents remain undisputed doubts about the will or ability to negotiate seriously will not disappear.

SPECIAL FORCES BOOST SHOWS U.S. IMPERIALIST AIMS

AU181742 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Jan 83 p 4

[Shkelqim Beqari article: "Clandestine Forces of 'Peace'"]

[Text] The bloody hand of American imperialism is present in many counterrevolutionary processes in the world, in fascist-type coups d'etat, in efforts to forcefully crush struggles for national freedom and others. Lately, clandestine forces such as the "Green Beret" army, the special operations air forces, marine forces, and others are occupying an increasingly important place in all of Washington's criminal activity. Facts show that the Pentagon has drafted a plan to increase these forces -- which American imperialism advertises as "peace" forces -- and to train them. The number of "Green Berets" alone will soon increase from 3,600 to 5,000 and military missions for their training will increase by 50 percent. This year an increase from the present 3,500 pilots to 4,700 is foreseen for the special air forces.

Taking part in the "Green Beret" forces are "specialized" soldiers trained under special conditions for military actions which precede landings and massive parachute drops. To increase the efficiency of their secret actions, these specialized soldiers first learn the language and customs of the people against whom they will be used. They organize maneuvers and training under "concrete" conditions, such as in El Salvador, the Philippines, Somalia, and other places, in close cooperation with the special air forces. They also cooperate with naval forces and above all with CIA agents who weave a spider's web to take the citadel from inside and consequently make it easier for the clandestine American troops to land.

The American press admits that the aim of regenerating and strengthening these military instruments is to "intervene in local wars where American interests are being violated." The American journal U.S. NEWS writes that the "Green Beret" experts "aim to disrupt guerrilla wars." It is obvious that these special units play the role of international gendarme, that infamous role of 13,000 "Green Beret" soldiers in Vietnam. The efforts to regenerate these clandestine forces are a further affirmation of American imperialism's expansionist policy to undermine and sabotage liberation struggles, to enslave and subjugate the peoples and to perpetuate American domination.

Three years ago, the Pentagon created another military organism, the Rapid Deployment Force, "to defend" the oil-producing zone of the Persian Gulf, which Washington considers a zone of "American interests." Current these troops number 230,000, including soldiers, pilots and marines. In the next 5 years a doubling of these forces and the addition of two air and naval divisions are foreseen. The American journal U.S. NEWS admits that the Pentagon cannot forget to reinvigorate a special force such as the Rapid Deployment Force," whose task is to directly intervene in "hot zones," not only in the Persian Gulf but anywhere in the world. As the news agencies report, an official ceremony marking the beginning of operations of the Central Command of the infamous Rapid Deployment Force was held recently at the MacDill military air base in the United States. The ASSOCIATED PRESS, commenting on this occasion, emphasized that the field of activity of this command stretches from Egypt to Pakistan and from Jordan to Kenya, thus including wide regions in two continents.

At the Eighth AWP Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha classified the Rapid Deployment Force as a "great aggressive army ready to intervene wherever the Pentagon may send it to establish, through fire and iron the domination of the United States." The creation and regeneration of this and other "peace" forces are, among other things, evidence of American imperialism's increasingly more adventurous course in the rivalry with Soviet social imperialism in order to establish its hegemony in the world.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON AL-QADHDHAFI STATE VISIT

Talks With Zhivkov 18 Jan

AU181628 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] On 18 January at the Boyana residence, the official talks between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi continued. In a businesslike and constructive atmosphere they discussed the prospects of further developing the relations between the two friendly countries. Mutual satisfaction with what has been achieved until now and a firm conviction in the ascending development of the cooperation were expressed. The preparation of the joint documents which will be signed continues.

Today Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi laid a wreath and paid his respects at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov.

Economic Cooperation Talks

LD181852 Tripoli JANA in English 1742 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Sofia, Rabi Thani 4, Jan 18, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY -- The Economic Committee on Technical Cooperation which was formed yesterday at the enlarged meeting which included the revolution's leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and President Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria, held a meeting this morning in Sofia. Present at the meeting were engineer Jadalla 'Aziz at-Talhi, the secretary [chairman] of the General People's Committee, Musa Abu Furaywah, the secretary of the General People's Committee for Economy and Light Industry, Abu Zayd 'Umar Durdah, the secretary of the People's Committee for Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform and several consultants and specialists.

On the Bulgarian side, also present were Prime Minister Grisha Filipov, First Deputy Prime Minister Todor Bozhinov, Minister of Foreign Trade Khristo Khristov, executive of the trade union of agricultural and food industry workers, (Alexander Betku) and several consultants and specialists from various ministries.

The meeting considered a long-term plan to develop relations in various economic sectors and technical cooperation.

They reviewed various aspects of cooperation and trade exchanges as well as joint ventures. The Political Committee also held a meeting this morning encompassed [as received] 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, the secretary of the People's Committee for Foreign Liaison Bureau, and Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian foreign minister.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH KAMPUCHEA -- Hanoi, January 18 (BTA corr.) -- Last year Bulgaria and Kampuchea had reciprocal deliveries of goods at the sum of 2,800,000 roubles. This year trade is planned to amount to 3,000,000 roubles. Despite of the economic hardships Kampuchea started quickly to gain prestige as a trading partner. That country delivered in term all the quantities of raw rubber, wood, tobacco and maize to Bulgaria, and Bulgaria exported electric equipment, medicines, goods of the chemical industry, galvanized sheet iron, spare parts, etc. to Kampuchea. There are being worked out plans for joint obtaining of raw rubber, for wood processing, for tobacco-growing and for obtaining vegetable oils. Kampuchea's great natural wealth gives her the opportunity for future active participation in the international socialist division of labour. [Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 18 Jan 83 AU]

CHNOUPEK SPEAKS ON PEACE, HALTING ARMS RACE

LD182148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, held the traditional New Year meeting with members of the Prague diplomatic corps in the Cernin Palace in Prague today.

In his speech he reiterated the importance of the initiatives contained in the conclusions of this year's Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states and gave his view of the most important issues in present-day developments in the world.

Minister Chnoupek described the struggle for the preservation of peace as the most important and pressing task of the present times. This task is now being assisted by a valuable impulse from the recent session of the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty member states. This document, which expresses the meaning and aims of this session -- the Political Declaration -- is permeated by a mobilizing voice of peace. This document unequivocally reaffirms that not even in the current worsened conditions is there any cause for a change in the strategy of the foreign policy course of the socialist countries.

The socialist countries regard halting the arms race and obtaining a decisive turnabout in disarmament talks, above all in the Soviet-American negotiations on limiting strategic arms and medium-range nuclear arms, as most important and absolutely urgent.

Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek also dwelt in some detail on the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and preservation of peaceful relations between member states of the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic pact. This peace arrangement project not only proceeds from well-known principles of the UN Charter, but is developed further and rendered more concrete in banning the use of military force against ships, aircraft and communications and in other bases that could lead to the outbreak of war.

Concluding his speech at today's meeting with members of the Prague diplomatic corps, Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, noted that Czechoslovakia, within the framework of a coordinated course of action with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, will further step up its efforts in order to turn this central initiative of the Prague session of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states into an impulse for further new talks on strengthening stability and security in Europe and promoting mutual confidence between European states.

On behalf of the diplomatic corps its doyen, Anwar 'Abd al-Qadir al-Hadithi, the ambassador of the Republic of Iraq, delivered a speech in which he paid tribute to the foreign and domestic policy of Czechoslovakia and its efforts toward development in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

PEOPLE'S PARTY BACKS USSR PEACE DECLARATION

LD182150 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] A Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Presidium session dealt today with the current international situation and in light of new significant stimuli in the form of the declaration of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee to parliaments, governments, political parties and nations of the world.

The Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Presidium expresses the conviction that detente, halting armament and securing permanent world peace are the most urgent current tasks.

Therefore, the declaration of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee requires the full attention of everyone to whom it has been addressed. Its entire content reconfirms the permanent character of the USSR's policy of peace.

The Czechoslovak People's Party also fully identifies itself with the Political Declaraton adopted at the Political Consultative Committee session of the Warsaw Treaty member states in Prague. Through the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party it expresses the views and wishes of all members of the party, who fully identify themselves with the attitudes of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the federal government to these issues. The members of the Czechoslovak People's Party prove this by their honest work for the fulfillment of society-wide tasks. They will manifest these stands in the future by their participation in and support for the preparations for the international "For Life and Peace, Against Nuclear War" assembly to take place this June in Prague.

HUSAK SENDS CONDOLENCES ON BAKARIC DEATH

LD181816 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, sent a telegram of condolences on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and on his own behalf to the LCY Central Committee and to the SFRY Presidium on the death of Vladimir Bakaric, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and vice chairman of the SFRY Presidium.

MOJSOV ATTENDS NONALIGNED MEETING IN MANAGUA

For Belgrade TANJUG and radio and Managua radio reportage on the visit of SFRY Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov to the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau meeting in Managua, Nicaragua, including his speech at the meeting, see the Nicaragua section of the 12 January Latin America Daily Report and subsequent issues.

MONGOLIAN OFFICIAL ARRIVES FOR COOPERATION TALKS

LD181052 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0330 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Monh Dorjiyn Dash, deputy chairman of the MPR State Committee for Science and Technology, arrived in Prague yesterday. He will attend the 10th session of the permanent Czechoslovak-Mongolian Subcommission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation. With Frantisek Sramek, the Czech minister of development and technology and chairman of the Czechoslovak side of the subcommission, he will discuss results of cooperation to date and the program for the coming period.

CONTRACT SIGNED FOR TUBING FOR GAS PIPELINE

WA181400 Prague RUDE PRAVO 17 Dec 83 in Czech p 3

[Text] Prague 16 Dec (from our correspondent) -- Technologically one of the most complicated investment projects, intensively followed by the European public, is the construction of another branch of the gas pipeline from the USSR to Western Europe. It will cross CSSR territory, where the Tranzitni Plynovod [Transit Gaslines] enterprise, which has rich experience from building earlier pipelines, has just been named as the investor for this significant project.

Two contracts to ensure construction of this line were signed in Prague providing for importation of the tubing. After negotiating with a number of suppliers, the CS foreign trade enterprise invited the firms Mannesman Handel and Hoesch Export, both from the FRG, to sign the delivery contracts. The two orders, to be delivered this year, call for importing large diameter tubing (1420 mm), which has a length of 176 km. Other orders for the pipeline construction, to take place during 1983 and 1987, will also be handled by the PZO Ferromet [Foreign Trade Enterprise Ferroment].

ANTHOLOGY OF HUSAK SPEECHES, ARTICLES PUBLISHED

AU141226 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 83 p

["St"-signed report: "G. Husak's Speeches on Armed Bodies"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Jan (our correspondent) -- On the occasion of the important anniversary in the life of Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, the Nase Vojsko [Our Army] publishing house has published a selection of his speeches and articles from the period from April 1969 until the 16th CPCZ Congress held in 1981, entitled "Gustav Husak -- On The Defense and Safeguarding of Socialism." The publication contains substantial extracts of Comrade G. Husak's speeches to the congresses of our party and sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee and on other important occasions, pertaining to questions of the Defense and safeguarding of socialism. It also contains significant theoretical articles by G. Husak on this problem, his speeches to members of armed bodies and orders issued on various occasions to the Czechoslovak People's Army, the National Security Corps, the troops of the Ministry of Interior and to the People's Militia.

OBSTACLES TO ECONOMIC, PRODUCTION DEVELOPMENT

AU181540 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Stereotype and Habits -- An Iron Armor-Plate"]

[Text] Times are changing, but people's habits remain the same. That is how the paradoxes of the present come into being -- even though the present time requires new approaches, people think and act as they used to.

Comrade Gustav Husak drew attention to this phenomenon when, in his closing speech at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session, he spoke about the great extent of prevalent stereotypes, inertia and deep-rooted habits of the past years.

Ingrained habits, inertia and stereotypes, these are an iron armor-plate that inhibits movement and flexibility and prevents one from stepping forward more quickly. It is a burden that presents man down to earth at a time when he needs all this strength to fly.

A stereotyped approach to the problems of the day is similar to the conditioned response of an unthinking creature to an outside stimulus, because only someone who cannot think reacts to the conditions of his environment reflexively. However, man should display an active approach to changed conditions, which means he should deliberately change his approaches to them. Yet it should not be an unprincipled adaptation to the environment. After all, social conditions, relations and the everyday circumstances of life are man-made. He can therefore change them for the better, he can make them, as people say, more human.

For the time being, this type of intellectual flexibility is the asset of only some vanguard individuals. Acting in the spirit of deep-rooted habits -- according to prescriptions that date back to yesterday and, not rarely, to the day before yesterday -- is, on the other hand, a mass phenomenon.

Let us take the sphere of economic life. The conditions and factors under which the extensive paths of development were historically justified -- abundancy of resources, a stable quantitative growth, simple causal connections -- are irreversibly a thing of the past. However, the peculiar "philosophy" of these conditions still survives, "ossified" ideas continue to be fixed in people's minds, stereotypical conduct according to the norms of bygone times is far from being a thing of the past.

The most deeply rooted habit is probably that of unexactingness.

It is typical not only of many managers but, let us be frank, even of whole collectives. It can be identified by the well-known conniving at sloppy work, by the distribution of "pardons" to those who are not fulfilling plans and tasks and by blindness and deafness in the face of shortcomings and malpractices. Instead of striving to introduce order, discipline and flawless work, one merely shrugs one's shoulders in resignation and says: This will do.... Nothing demonstrates the mass occurrence of unexactingness more tellingly than the mass occurrence of the word exactingness itself. Its prevalence is not being increased merely by those who enforce the correct and urgent requirement to match the criteria being applied in the most advanced countries of the world, but also by those who regard even the attainment of the average, the mere fulfillment of the ordinary, normal obligations and expectations as being "exacting."

Complacency and passivity, too, are a certain form of reflex to the existing conditions. They are manifested in the habit of saying that all suggestions for innovation come "from above," as though the management agencies represented some sort of a "pole of initiative" and the executive units a "pole of implementation." Well, for those to whom thinking is apparently painful, this is an exceedingly convenient notion. In practice, this results in one side producing nothing but orders while the other side produces reasons preventing the fulfillment of these orders. The healthy, socialist enterprising spirit for which we appeal so much is becoming enmeshed in the prevalent notion that one needs an "order from above" for everything.

The habit of making the fulfillment of tasks contingent on other things, has also taken root. In the past the connections used to be straightforward: When the high-level body raised the tasks, it also proportionately increased the inputs, especially materials, energy and manpower. It simply had to "create conditions" for the fulfillment of the task. It has thus become a habit to stretch out one's arms and demand this or that for one's enterprise, plant, district or region. And the influential patrons, in turn, have grown accustomed to showing a "soft heart" in granting all kinds of expectations from the regulations or requirements.

A number of similar habits from the "good old times" have become rooted in people's minds, where they still live. They have been formed as reflexes to certain recurring circumstances. For example, although for a number of years in a row we have not succeeded in fulfilling the planned grain production, until a year ago no one ever felt the consequences of this grave shortfall. The government always found a solution. But in the industrial enterprises as well, not even one hair on anyone's head is touched when the enterprise is not fulfilling the plan, does not manage its affairs as it should and incurs losses instead of making a profit. Such phenomena act as causes, yet the consequences -- involving a severe impact on those responsible for them -- do not ensue with the inevitability of the law of dialectics. There is always someone who will throw a lifeline to the drowning.

The resulting habit, too, has its own logic -- it is possible to take it easy, live at the expense of better collectives, engage in collective parasitism. And, what is even worse, one arrives at the conclusion that the order of the day to produce good quality work everywhere, to work efficiently and to handle all values economically is not, after all, a question of our being or not being, as propaganda presents it. People who approach things in this way are not upset by failures, do not feel responsible for shortcomings they have caused, do not enter into conflicts for the sake of all-social interests. They have grown used to regarding problems as something concerning others; they themselves want to be left in peace.

The struggle against such habits, which persist although they are incompatible with the current conditions, will not be easy. After all, during the past years they have penetrated the cell structure of the organism of our everyday life.

Many people wrongly regard them as principles and do not therefore even concede the possibility and inevitability of adopting other, contemporary approaches.

But there is no other alternative. It is essential to launch a struggle against all forms of modern fetishes and to do so on the side of seemingly "heretical" new ideas. This struggle must be waged by practical measures, measures that change the conditions in which people act, as well as by effective verbal agitation influencing their thinking. It is essential to keep in mind that as long as elements of the outdated extensive mode of thinking, including ingrained habits and sterotyped approaches, remain in the everyday economic and other social practice, the turnabout toward intensive paths of national economic development will not be consistent and complete.

The set of measures for improving the planned management system of the national economy constitutes the material basis for this struggle. The consistent application of such factors of improved planning as a target-oriented programmatic approach in the entire planning process, forms of management based on supply and demand coordination [bilancna metoda and gescne formy riadenia] or emphasis on indices showing contribution to the national income will undoubtedly narrow down the scope for stereotyped approaches and ingrained habits from the past.

The evaluation of the production organizations according to the indices of effectiveness, for example, the per-kilogram price; profitability; per-unit material consumption; or the use of basic assets, using as a yardstick the standard of other technologically and economically advanced states, also makes it clear whether the set tasks are or are not exacting.

Particularly important is the development of khozraschet [management, planning and accountancy method based on economic accountability] which -- when applied free of formalism -- will uncompromisingly point out the poor managers who collectively feed on the results of others. The set of measures enhances the binding nature of economic agreements and the accountability for their fulfillment, which assists in the struggle against sloppiness of every kind. Sloppy, half-baked work is tolerated only where the supplier is an uncontrollable master of his customer's fate.

Permanently unsatisfactory results of lagging and unprofitable industrial enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and state farms should have as their "consequence" more effective practical, organizational and cadre measures. The whole state cannot be allowed to become a single enterprise in which poor performers can hide behind good performers. In extreme cases, some socialist countries are much more energetic than we are in closing down unprofitable production facilities and plants. It is essential to keep in mind that to be humane, social and socialist is not to run production facilities operating at a loss and to produce unsellable articles whatever the cost but, on the contrary, not to burden the state's pocket with unnecessary and senseless outlays, so that more is left for truly humane and social purposes.

Propaganda, especially economic propaganda, too, must contribute its share to the struggle against sterotypes, inertia and ingrained habits. Economic relations have become more complicated, dependent on many diverse factors. Simple schemes, for example, that greater effectiveness is unavoidably contingent on a greater quantity of products, have lost their validity. The results of public opinion polls indicate that many employees are not clear even on basic terms such as effectiveness. Therefore, they obviously do not even realize their potential and obligations to act more economically than in the past. A great deal of propaganda and agitation work remains to be done in this sphere.

USSR'S GROMYKO TO ARRIVE IN GDR 19 JANUARY

LD181718 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1659 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Berlin 18 Jan (ADN) -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, will arrive in the GDR on Wednesday on an official friendly visit which will last for several days. He is coming at the invitation of Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

AXEN MEETS WITH PLO'S SALAH KHALAF 18 JAN

LD182152 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Berlin, 18 Jan (ADN) -- Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, had a friendly conversation on Tuesday (18 January) with Salah Khalaf, member of the PLO leadership and of the Central Committee of the National Palestinian liberation movement, Fatah. Salah Khalaf conveyed cordial greetings from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, to the GDR party and state leadership and gave an account of the preparations for the 16th meeting of the Palestine National Council. He welcomed the pioneering peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty states contained in the recent declaration of their Political Consultative Committee. He stressed the PLO's special appreciation of the fundamental support of the socialist states, affirmed in the Prague declaration, for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under PLO leadership.

On the basis of the 10th SED Congress decisions Hermann Axen affirmed the SED's consistent political solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, for the implementation of their inalienable rights to self-determination, the creation of an independent state and return to their homeland. He asked for the best wishes of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to be conveyed to the PLO Executive Committee for the success of the 16th Palestine National Council.

Both men most sharply condemned Israel's aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and the bestial extermination of the civilian population of West Beirut. They expressed concern at the confrontation policy pursued by the most aggressive circles in the United States and Israel. Their hegemonist and expansionist policy in the Middle East threatens the sovereignty and vital interests of all peoples in the region and endangers world peace. In conformity with the UN resolutions they call for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state as the precondition for a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The SED and PLO fully support the USSR proposals for the political solution of the Middle East conflict.

DEFENSE MINISTER RECEIVES TANZANIAN DELEGATION

AU171437 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15,16 Jan 83 p 2

[ADN report: "Tanzanian Delegation at Defense Ministry: Army General Heinz Hoffman Spoke With Steven Kibona"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Friday Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, received a delegation led by Steven Kibona, deputy defense minister of the United Republic of Tanzania.

During the cordial meeting at the Defense Ministry, Minister Hoffmann valued the visit of the Tanzanian military men as an expression of the deepening friendship and cooperation between the two states and their armies. This process is taking place on the basis of the joint anti-imperialist struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Steven Kibona expressed thanks for the hospitality shown to the delegation everywhere. During its visit of several days to the GDR, the delegation availed itself of the opportunity to acquaint itself with the assignment of the National People's Army and with the education and training of its soldiers.

Colonel General Fritz Streletz, deputy minister of national defense, also attended the meeting.

BEIL HOLDS ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS IN BRUSSELS

LD181932 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Brussels, 18 Jan (ADN) -- Belgian Vice Prime Minister J. Gol on Tuesday (18 January) received State Secretary Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers. Both sides expressed their interest in consolidating and deepening economic relations.

Gerhard Beil is visiting Brussels at the invitation of the Belgian Government. He held talks with presidents and directors general of Brugeoisie et Nivelles, Cockerill-Sambre, A.C.E.C., the Belgian external trade office O.B.C.E., representatives of the Fabrimetal metal industry association and executives of Belgian banks. In the negotiations and talks the Belgian partners stated their interest in widening and deepening economic relations with the GDR.

In a lecture to leading Belgian businessmen and bankers, arranged by Fabrimetal, State Secretary Beil gave an account of the GDR's successful economic development in 1982. On this basis possibilities and cooperation in third markets. it was agreed to continue technical and commercial talks between the representatives of GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines and Belgian enterprises, particularly at the Leipzig spring fair, at which Belgian industry will be represented on a larger scale.

On Monday, Gerhard Beil was received by W. de Clera, vice prime minister and minister for foreign trade and finance. They expressed the interest of both sides in extending economic relations and stressed that in the present tense international situation, developing economic relations is a major contribution to detente and to implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems.

Gerhard Beil, on the same day, also met M. Eyskens, minister for economic affairs. They discussed measures to intensify cooperation, particularly participation in each other's rationalization projects, and also increased cooperation in third countries. The Belgian side submitted proposals on the development of economic relations and industrial cooperation.

State Secretary Beil and A. Kempinaire, Belgian secretary of state for external trade, exchanged views on the possibilities of, and requirements for, a considerable increase in foreign trade between the GDR and Belgium. The Belgian side said that Belgian firms are making careful preparations for this year's Leipzig spring fair. Both men agreed that holding GDR technical days in Belgium in 1983 will help expand existing commercial relations and present fresh possibilities.

MAJOR CROP PRODUCTION GOALS FOR 1983 NOTED

WA171400 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] The economy expects a 1-2 percent increase in agricultural output as compared to the outstanding yields of the preceding year. A 2.3 percent growth in plant production is planned within this over-all figure. This means that gross production value, calculated in 1976 fixed prices, will exceed 100 billion forints. Within the branch of plant production, the value of field crops will be highest, amounting to over 70 billion forints. Production values of over 9 billion and nearly 9 billion forints are anticipated for fruits and vegetables respectively. The plan counts on a gross production value of 10 billion forints from vineyards and 3 billion from smaller branches of agriculture.

As usual, 1983 grain production will be the determining factor in field crop production. Projections call for grains to be grown on 2.9 million hectares, exceeding the area of last year by 50,000 hectares. The largest areas, 1,320,000 and 1,160,000 hectares are to be sown to wheat and corn respectively. Overall grain yields are to approximate the outstanding yields of last year. Yields totalling 14.5 million tons can meet both domestic and export demands. To arrive at this figure, it will be necessary to increase per hectare yields from 4.39 tons to 4.7 tons in the case of wheat and from 3.3 to 3.83 tons for barley. Corn yields must approximate this year's high levels.

Industrial crops will also play an important role in plant production. Since the price of sugar is falling, it is worth planting only enough beets to meet domestic sugar needs. Consequently land for beets will be reduced from 126,000 hectares to 110,000 hectares.

Although oilseed crops are to be grown on an area 1.5 percent smaller than last year, yields per hectare must be higher. Oilseed is to be grown on a total of 380,000 hectares of which 200,000 hectares are to be sown to sunflower.

Potato yields are expected to amount to slightly over 1.5 million tons which will satisfy domestic needs in full.

Yield from field-grown vegetables are to increase from the 1,240,000 tons of last year to 1,350,000 tons. Fruits yields should remain at approximately the 1.8 million tons harvested last year.

Supply of both fruit and vegetables should be adjusted more closely to the needs of the population and the preserving industry and to permit more produce to be exported for better prices.

The plan calls for an increase in grape production to allow preparation of 5.6 million hectoliters of wine.

PROTOCOLS WITH GDR, ROMANIA SIGNED IN BUDAPEST

Economic Cooperation With GDR

LD142243 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 14 Jan 83

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI) -- The 21st meeting of the Hungarian-GDR Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Commission concluded in Budapest on Friday with the signing of a protocol by Hungarian Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress and Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy prime minister of the GDR.

The participants of the meeting discussed economic relations. The GDR is Hungary's second most important socialist foreign trade partner and Hungary an important partner for the GDR.

It was established that new external economic conditions must be taken more into account when considering bilateral relations. On the basis of mutual benefits, areas where the two economies complement each other should be given priority.

New forms of cooperation are to be found and greater attention paid to meeting quality standards and commitments. Both sides continue to attach importance to achieving concrete results in technical-scientific cooperation, the specialization of production, and in jointly working in third markets.

Wolfgang Rauchfuss left Budapest for Berlin on Friday.

Trade Protocol With Romania

LD151112 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 15 Jan 83

[Text] Budapest, January 14 (MTI) -- Hungarian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Janos Vas and Ion Stoian, his Romanian counterpart, signed the bilateral trade and payments protocol for 1983 in Budapest on Friday.

Exchange delivery of machinery and installations will account for half of bilateral trade. Romania is to export metal-working machinery, equipment for the oil industry, machinery for construction and road building, farm implements and spare parts, road vehicles and diesel engines. Hungary is to export machine tools, installations for metallurgy, floating cranes, equipment for telecommunications and electroacoustics, measure and control instruments and spare parts for road vehicles. Romania is to export natural gas, salt, cement and chemicals and Hungary rolled steel, semi-finished aluminium goods and benzol. From Romania, Hungary is to import furniture, synthetic knitwear, ready-made women's and men's clothes, iron stoves and gas stoves, and Romania is to import cotton cloth, meat products and medicine. Trade in goods produced under cooperation agreements and bilateral and multilateral specialization agreements is to increase in the vehicle industry, metallurgy, biocide and medicine production.

ECONOMIC, PLANNING TALKS HELD WITH CSSR'S POTAC

LD172154 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Jan 83

[Text] Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic and planning talks have opened between the two deputy premiers, Lajos Faluvegi and Svatopluk Potac. The Czechoslovak politician, who is also chairman of the State Planning Commission, has been received by Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the Central Committee.

HAVASI DEPARTS FOR VISIT TO FINLAND 18 JANUARY

LD181050 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI) -- Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, left for Finland Tuesday on the invitation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

PAP REPORTS PRESS CONFERENCE ON UPI'S GRUBER

AU181214 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 2

[PAP report: "The Inside Story on the UPI Correspondent's Explusion"]

[Text] At a meeting which took place on 13 January at the head office of POLISH AGENCY INTERPRESS in Warsaw, foreign correspondents were informed about the circumstances which made the Polish authorities decide to withdraw the press accreditation and right to stay in our country of Ruth Ellen Gruber, the woman reporter from the American press agency UPI.

Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Major Jerzy Karpacz from the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Bureau of Investigation replied to journalists' questions.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' representative said that the services he represents had received information on contacts between a certain person from the Gdansk area and the abovementioned correspondent. One could judge from those contacts that data which constitutes a state secret could have been passed over. On 11 January a package addressed to the UPI correspondent was delivered from Gdansk by a female train conductor. It later turned out that this package contained photographs and films of military buildings and equipment. Anna Olszewska, a Polish citizen employed by UPI, went to collect this package at one of the main railroad stations in Warsaw on clear instructions from R.E. Gruber. We had learned earlier, Maj Karpacz said, that Ms Gruber had received instructions from her head office to delve into matters connected with our country's defense capability; however, we realized that there was still a lack of evidence at that time on which to base any accusations against the American reporter of having helped gather material of an intelligence nature so Gruber was released.

During the conference the correspondents were told that the American journalist's accreditation had been withdrawn and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had asked her to leave Poland quickly.

Replying to detailed questions, the government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, reminded everyone of the rights and obligations of foreign correspondents working in Poland, stressing that in every country there are norms governing the conduct of foreign correspondents, these norms being dictated by the need to protect the state's interests.

One of the questions asked was: If the security authorities have not said that Gruber's activity is of an espionage nature, then why has it been decided to expel her from Poland?

Replying to these questions, J. Urban said that in the opinion of the Polish authorities, Mr Gruber exceeded her powers as a journalist in that she was a foreign correspondent interested in news which is generally not the subject of press articles. He pointed out at the same time that the nature and range of journalistic activity is established in detail by a given country's legislature. The UPI correspondent's conduct is linked with the U.S. policy toward Poland, a policy which is unfriendly and unusual; therefore, we must also be especially interested in the activity of official representatives from that country. Various U.S. representatives in Poland are gathering information about our country which exceeds the requirements posed by normal interstate relations or by a normal desire to report on and comment on events. For the U.S. Government's official and openly declared policy is "bent" on actively shaping domestic relations in Poland in a way which suits Washington's wishes.

Jerzy Urban said that the right and duty of the Polish authorities is to protect the state not only against activity of a purely espionage nature, but also against the doings of various U.S. representatives who are trying to create political facts in Poland.

If, for example, a corresondent who is in touch with the political underground gives the dates and plans of hostile demonstrations, which is later broadcast by Free Europe, then he is not reporting on an event, he is creating it.

The spokesman recalled that Ms Gruber had earlier received an instruction from the UPI head office to gather information on military matters. He described the text of such a message which Ms Gruber received in August 1982.

Replying to another question, the government press spokesman said that, in his opinion, working conditions for foreign journalists in the Polish People's Republic are very favorable. They have every possibility of obtaining information from any person they wish to interview on various aspects of life in our country. Unfortunately, he added, we often come across misuse of these liberties. For example, we observe, though not in all correspondents, a one-sided interest in life in Poland concentrated on a very narrow range of political conflicts and petty sensations.

Many Western correspondents limit their contacts in Poland exclusively to persons representing social circles which are disinclined or hostile toward the authorities. Such behavior, therefore, distorts Poland's picture in some Western mass media. People who are fighting the system often propagate their doings, which are sometimes private, by means of Western mass media, which effectively gives these events a significance which is out of proportion to their real extent. The result is that world opinion is not given objective information about the situation in Poland. Instead, attempts are made to form facts which distort the picture. To give an example: Before 10 November last year, radio stations broadcasting in Polish called on our community to undertake strike action over 100 times, presenting detailed plans. We do not want to restrict journalists' freedom to carry out their duties nor their freedom of expression in any way, the government press spokesman continued, but we appeal to them to convey honest information, and not to fabricate political facts. We also do not agree to the gathering and conveying of data to any foreign institution other than mass media.

Later on, Jerzy Urban stressed that he does not consider the maintaining of contacts with the underground, a social circle which is illegal and criminal in the eyes of the law, as one of the rights of foreign correspondents. We expect objective and multifaceted information from foreign journalists, and we at least expect them to be discriminating as far as the sources of their knowledge on events and moods are concerned. Nevertheless, the picture of our country in Western mass media is still quite often distorted and one-sided.

The authorities' intention is to guarantee foreign correspondents abundant information and the right conditions for them to gather information which is truly journalistic.

The case of the American UPI correspondent was returned to during the conference. The government press spokesman stressed that making it possible for her to go back home before investigations are completed signifies good will by the Polish authorities. At the same time, the decision to expel R.E. Gruber from Poland should serve as a warning to those correspondents who exceed their professional duties while working in our country.

U.S. EXPULSION OF PAP CORRESPONDENT PROTESTED

LD182134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Zdzislaw Ludwiczak, charge d'affaires of the Polish Embassy in Washington, was invited today to the State Department where he was informed that the American authorities have decided to withdraw immediately the accreditation of PAP's Washington correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski.

In accordance with the decision of the American authorities he is to leave U.S. territory within 48 hours. No accusations or reservations were made regarding the work of Stanislaw Glabinski in Washington. The decision by the American authorities is in the nature of retaliation for the expulsion from Poland of UPI correspondent Ruth Gruber.

In view of the decision by the U.S. authorities to expel the permanent PAP correspondent in Washington our country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs today lodged a sharp protest with U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw Francis Meehan. The protest states that the decision of the American authorities is groundless, since Stanislaw Glabinski has by no means violated the status of a press correspondent.

PAP has also lodged a sharp protest with the American authorities in connection with the astonishing decision to expel its permanent correspondent from the United States. This is all the more outrageous, it is stated, since it was most clearly dictated exclusively by a desire to retaliate, since the American side offered no reproaches at all with respect to the PAP representative. The protest stresses in addition that Ms Ruth Gruber, who was expelled from Warsaw, was not the sole accredited journalist with the UPI office in our country. That office continues to function. However, the expulsion of correspondent Glabinski -- the only PAP journalist in Washington -- is tantamount to a suspension of the work of the agency and to cutting Polish readers off from the daily reports and commentaries on the subject of the United States and its foreign policy.

WARSAW SUMMARIZES NESTOROWICZ'S VISIT TO SYRIA

LD121404 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Polish Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz is visiting Damascus at the invitation of Syrian Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade Dr Salim Yasin. Apart from talks at the Syrian Foreign Trade Ministry, Tadeusz Nestorowicz also held meetings with the heads of the main economic ministries, including the ministers for oil, industry, and planning. The Polish guest was received by Deputy Prime Minister 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, who stressed Syria's interest in the activation of cooperation with our country. During the visit, both sides assessed positively the course of Polish-Syrian trade exchange. The main directions for its further development were marked out for the coming years.

CONFERENCE HELD FOR FOREIGN, POLISH JOURNALISTS

LD150049 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 14 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw 14 Jan -- Foreign correspondents accredited in Warsaw and Polish journalists commenting [on] international events had a traditional New Year meeting arranged by the Foreign Ministry at Jablonna near Warsaw today. The guests invited to the meeting included PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski, alternate Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk, Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban, PUWP CC department authorities, officials of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic (SD PRL), editors in chief of news agencies, newspapers, radio and television, press publishing houses, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch worker publishing cooperative, press attaches of foreign diplomatic missions.

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SRV 18 JANUARY

LD182226 Warsaw PAP in English 1716 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jan -- An agreement on cooperation was signed here today between the Polish foreign trade chamber and the foreign trade chamber of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The agreement provides for both chambers to develop comprehensive activity to improve the effects of Polish-Vietnamese economic, industrial scientific and technological cooperation and trade. It is also the first agreement between Polish and Vietnamese foreign trade chambers and envisages many joint promotion actions.

AFP ON WALESA'S DETERMINATION TO REGAIN JOB

NC171317 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 17 Jan 83

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Jan. 17 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, leader of the banned union Solidarity, today said he was determined to resume his former job as electrician in the Gdansk Lenin shipyards and would take his case to court if necessary. But the union leader, in an apparent switch of plans, did not again attempt to enter the shipyard gates as he had last Friday when authorities turned him away, saying his pass had expired. Instead he stood a few minutes before a monument dedicated to workers killed in the 1970 Gdansk riots.

In a statement delivered in front of the former headquarters of Solidarity, Mr. Walesa said he still considered himself a shipyard worker and would take his case before an employment tribunal if the shipyard refused to rehire him. Shipyard officials Friday told Mr. Walesa there were "no obstacles" to his rehiring but that he would have to provide evidence of his last employment.

Mr Walesa said the request was an administrative manoeuvre placing him under the authority of the commissioner in charge of liquidating Solidarity's assets. He has maintained his rehiring should be automatic since his mandate as a union delegate had expired the day Solidarity was outlawed. He said that after being freed from internment on Nov. 14 he had sent his chauffeur, Mietek Wachowski, to see the commissioner who gave Mr. Walesa two months of holidays for 1981 and 1982. It was at the end of those two months that he had put forward his request to be reinstated.

Friday's statement by shipyard officials was confirmed in writing the same evening, and Mr. Walesa was given one week to reply.

Asked today if he would accept employment outside Gdansk, he said: "I am very attached to my city and to leave it I would have to consult my constituents," a reference to the Lenin shipyard workers who elected him union representative.

After a minute of silence before the workers' monument outside the shipyards, he stopped at the St. Bridget Church where yesterday a crowd of 12,000 attended a mass dedicated to those who had been interned or sentenced under Poland's year of martial law.

DEATH OF FIRST DEPUTY MINING MINISTER REPORTED

LD181632 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Dr Mieczyslaw Glanowski, first deputy minister of mining and power industry and merited miner of the Polish People's Republic, has died. He was 53 years old.

REPORT ON PZPR WORKS OFFICIALS' MEETING

LD181520 Warsaw PAP in English 1108 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw 17 Jan -- The first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee General Wojciech Jaruzelski today chaired here a conference of first secretaries of the works party committees from the country's 207 largest enterprises.

The meeting focused on the main directions of social policy in the context of the state's current economic possibilities. It also reviewed the social, political and economic situation in enterprises whose production in a large measure determines the country's ultimate economic results. Considerable attention was also devoted to the renascent trade union movement.

Deputy minister of labour, wages and social welfare, Krzysztof Gorski, stated that equal distribution of the cost of crisis on all social groups at the same time assuring protection of the incomes of the poorest sections of population was a very important social aim that has been reached. It was impossible last year to improve the market equilibrium largely because of excessive wage increases in many branches, unwarranted by productivity growth. This phenomenon occurred ever so sharp in the last months of 1982.

During discussion speakers stressed that a political struggle revolving round the rebirth of the trade union movement and workers' self-management was still in progress in factories. At the same time there is growing awareness that rebuilding of the trade union structure is an indispensable condition for overcoming the economic crisis. Speakers also drew attention to the insufficient interest of young people in the new union. The party secretaries stressed that the party and its members should act more resolutely to win over representatives of the younger generation for the new unions through convincing them that the unions offer a chance and broad possibilities for all kinds of innovative action. The conference also criticised the negligible interest shown by the engineering and middle-level overseeing staff in the building of the new union structures. But the conference also heard examples of cooperation between the renascent trade union movement with socio-political organisations active in various work places.

Housing problems and wages policy were the subjects raised repeatedly by speakers as issues which preoccupy the workers. Some speakers maintained that the new trade unions should not occupy themselves exclusively with big politics but should also tackle small matters which influence the workers' welfare. One aim of the trade union movement is also to support the development of cultural and educational activity, sports and tourism, as well as recreation for the works personnel.

Central Committee Secretary Manfred Gorywoda focussed his attention on inflation and shortages of marketables. He argued that inflation had its source in works enterprises themselves which paid excessively high wages compared to a negligible growth of labour productivity. He also said that the expanded programme of social benefits exceeded the country's economic possibilities. The proportion of these benefits in the national income will reach this year 18 per cent compared with 9 per cent three years ago. If the rate of inflation continues unabated, long queues resembling the situation of one and a half years ago will appear before shops. The speaker stressed that it was a matter of vital importance to strictly adhere to financial discipline at all levels and in all production branches. We have had disquieting signals of common [word indistinct] committed by works enterprises which were by-passing regulations in an effort to maximalize wages often without proper justification, said Gorywoda.

The rebirth of the trade union movement and the emergence of strong unions is a historic task for the party and the entire country, said member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP CC Kazimierz Barcikowski. We must oust the opponent, deprive him of arguments and "cut out" a place for new unions. We should not be frightened by a reproach that these will be "red" unions. These should, first of all, be good unions, they should serve the working people and be socialist. One ought to think about prospects for building national structures of union organizations so that they can remove the lack of possibilities for the union movement to influence the shape of social decisions in national scale, now being painfully felt.

PUWP First Secretary Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor at the end of the conference.

RAKOWSKI SEES POLITICAL OPPONENTS WEAKENING

AU181258 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15/16 Jan 83 p 2

[Report on speech by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at a 14 January accountability conference of the PZPR organization in Nowa Huta]

[Text] Speaking during the conference Vice Premier M. Rakowski took a stand on the most important issues brought up by the participants. Discussing in detail the conditions under which the party has to work, he drew attention to the fact that the slump in industrial production had been halted; that the economic reform was being consistently and steadily implemented, even though this implementation was slow and not devoid of errors; that social emotions were gradually decreasing; and that confidence in party policy was increasing. At the same time, despite the efforts made by subversive centers, the opposition was being weakened and disrupted politically.

M. Rakowski said that the most important tasks facing the party in the coming months were the struggle to reaffirm its credibility, especially among young people, to tighten its ties with the people, to uproot the occasional features of arbitrariness and arrogance and to promote party activity that would supply as many reasons for moral and political satisfaction as possible.

WOZNIAK ISSUES STATEMENT ON WARSAW PARTY STATUS

LD152112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Jan 83

[Text] On the 38th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw from the Hitlerite occupation, the PAP editorial team has received a statement from Marian Wozniak, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, on the subject of the prospects for the further development of Warsaw and the current ideological and moral state of the metropolitan party organization, which is one of the leading ones in Poland as far as the number of its members is concerned and is specific in its social and professional structure.

The Warsaw party organization, Marian Wozniak stated, at present consists of 155,000 members and candidate members, which includes 24 percent of workers and 50 percent of white collar workers. The number of party members has diminished in Warsaw by 14 percent, which was a result of the weakening of the PZPR's position in both the assessment of the party members themselves and that of persons without party affiliation.

Since August last year, Marian Wozniak says, we have noticed that there is a distinct slowing in the numbers of workers leaving the party. A similar situation has occurred in other milieus. Moreover, last year a gradual influx of new candidates took place: 500 people were accepted. The first secretary of the Warsaw party committee emphasized in his interview that he is against mass recruitments to the ranks of the PZPR of any kind. We need a party, he said, that is not so much large in numbers as wise.

REPORT ON 15 JANUARY KRAKOW PARTY CONFERENCE

LD152356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 15 Jan 83

[Text] A report-back conference of the party organization took place today at the Krakow Lenin metallurgical combine. Serious personnel problems, providing apartments for the steelworkers, raising the status of workers' jobs, conditions for effectively implementing economic reform, and methods for further implementing the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress filled discussion at the conference.

The great significance of the political activity among the nonparty part of the work force, and the need to work out the appropriate style for party cooperation with trade unions and employees, self-management were also discussed.

Taking the floor, Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee who participated in the conference, stressed that today the most important tasks for the party is to do everything that serves to overcome the economic crisis. He recognized the construction of unity and bringing together the young and older generations in the party as the most significant tasks of party organizations.

Today Kazimierz Barcikowski also met activists of the Lenin steelworks trade unions. The unionists reported to him on the most important problems in their work. The party (Central Committee secretary) characterized the general situation in the union movement in the country. He said the union activity should be expanded beyond the sphere of social affairs.

MALINOWSKI, MICHALEK ON PZPR-ZSL JOINT PLENUM

Malinowski: 'Coalition Power System'

LD181320 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jan (PAP) -- Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, gave an interview to DZIENNIK LUDOWY on the joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, which is planned for 20-21 January, and will discuss problems involved in the development of the food complex.

To the question as to why it is precisely now that the first joint plenum of the leading bodies of parties which have been cooperating for a long time is taking place, R. Malinowski answered: It is not by chance. It is the expression of qualitatively new relations between the two parties -- that is, cooperation, and the implementation -- in a spirit of partnership -- of the idea of a coalition power system. The problems facing our country today -- the economic crisis; the struggle to strengthen the social socialist state; the need to introduce far-reaching democratic reforms combining the universal principles of socialism with our traditions, experience, and the aspirations of the people; and finally, the struggle against deviations in our life -- are all problems that are too complex to be solved by individual people or individual parties, the leader of the Peasants Party emphasized. It is essential here to have the active participation of the whole of society despite differences in views. After all, these differences are not invariably a destructive force; they can also build and enrich the theory and practice of our development, with the stipulation, however, that we always remember the most important factor: the interests of the people and the socialist state. What is important is the individuality of the forces working toward this end, on the one hand, and their partnership on the other.

Michalek: 'PZPR-ZSL Cooperation'

AU180939 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Henryk Maziejuk interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek: "Before the PZPR-ZSL Joint Plenum -- Partnership in the Interest of Rural Areas and the Country -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Let us begin the interview by stating that a PZPR-ZSL joint plenum will be held very soon. This is the first plenum of this kind. Why is it finally going to be held?

[Answer] This is because our present government is based on the principle of coalition. The PZPR and the ZSL, which are important elements of this principle, have decided to jointly tackle the issues of farming and food for the people. These issues are key ones in every respect. The plenum, during which he will present our views, evaluations, and proposals, will also illustrate the partnerlike cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL.

[Question] Perhaps PZPR-ZSL cooperation will help reduce the animosity that is generated by a simplified approach to the problems of rural and urban areas. This animosity, which is often artifically incited, stems from the difficulties caused by our crisis.

[Answer] The potential of our two parties is large. The point is to use it more effectively in overcoming our crisis and its results. As you know, the farming situation is not good, and this is why we must do all we can to improve it. Much can be done in this regard. There are almost 320,000 individual farmers in the ZSL and over 220,000 of them in the PZPR, which means that almost every fifth farm owner out of 2.8 million has a party card. How much good can such party holders generate through their examples and social and political attitudes in self-government groups or trade unions! We should also bear in mind that other agricultural employees -- people connected with farming services and affairs -- also belong to the PZPR and the ZSL.

[Question] Usually we know what is to be done, but sometimes we do not know how to do it. In particular, we do not know when we should unite our efforts. Does this mean that the PZPR-ZSL directives on farming and food production have to be corrected for the duration of the crisis?

[Answer] There is no need to correct these directives because they are stable and map out the final tasks. The PZPR-ZSL farming program is good. The crisis has not changed this evaluation. At our joint plenum we must establish what should be done first and what can wait so that we can challenge our difficulties and make farming bounce back from its rock-bottom position. After we have done this we will be able to plan more exacting tasks.

[Question] What are the priority tasks?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we are living in a period of a general shortage of goods, production means, outlays, and supplies. It will take some time before our efforts to give better economic support to agriculture and food production show the desired results. In this situation it is especially important to use more effectively the resources we have so that nothing is wasted. We have to use more effectively farming tools, machines, fertilizers, building materials, and loans.

[Answer] As a result of streamlining the economy and implementing the economic reform in agriculture, some budget subsidies have been abolished in the sector of farm services, and this has increased the prices of such services. This is a disturbing development. The interest in exchanging selected grain seeds and in lime fertilizing has slumped. There are difficulties with artificial insemination.... I am also worried by this development, especially by the sudden breakdown in the supply of seeds, which was built up with such difficulties. What to do? Two things: either wait patiently until farmers realize that they must sow selected seeds and that such seeds have to be expensive, or -- bowing to traditions and customs -- return to some form of subsidies.

[Question] Some people, including farmers, believe that the economic reform is not creating an equitable relationship between agriculture and industry. Most farm produce is sold at controlled prices. Farmers buy almost all production resources at conventional prices. In view of this, the question is: Couldn't free prices be introduced for farm produce under socialized procurement?

[Answer] If we introduced free prices we would boost inflation so much that we wouldn't know whether we were going or coming. This is why free prices are out at present. We must see and are seeing that socialized procurement prices are profitable for producers and are correctly related to prices for production means, because this relation determines agricultural profitability. At the same time, any changes must -- as has been the case already -- bind the farming market more closely to the state market because it is natural that we want as much farm produce as possible to find its way to socialized procurement.

[Question] One method of ecnomic stimulation of farming is taxation, which should play an important role in this stimulation.

[Answer] If we are going to use such a method -- it is necessary to use it during the economic reform -- then the land tax must go up when full recompensation for farmers is guaranteed. All the proposals in this connection, which are still provisional and will be discussed, boil down to the principle that the more one sells from a hectare to the state, the less tax one should pay. We are not especially interested in collecting money, which is actually small money, but we are most interested in stimulating production, intensifying procurement, and improving the agrarian structure of peasant farms. Let me add that -- in line with the principle that there should be one agriculture -- there must be uniform contributions to the state by individual farmers, state farms, and agricultural producer cooperatives, whose contributions are now higher.

[Question] Does this mean that this treatment of agriculture gives attention to good farmers?

[Answer] Primarily good farmers. I think we should change the methods by which farming is stimulated and abandon vague methods in favor of methods that give credit to efficient farmers. We want as many of them as is possible.

[Question] Who is a good and who is a bad farmer?

[Answer] To me a good farmer is the one whose production is good, cheap, and abundant; who permanently cooperates with the socialized market; who has knowledge and qualifications. A bad farmer is just the opposite of the good one. In particular, in our present situation I should not ask a farmer how much he harvests from a hectare and how many animals he has. What I should ask him is how much farm produce per hectare he sells to the state.

[Question] What should be done to have as many good farmers as possible?

[Answer] A single factor determines nothing. Several factors are needed at the same time, including profitability, prices, taxation, contracts on produce, and supplies. The favorable conditions which the state is creating for farmers -- these conditions are still not what they ought to be, but are better than before -- must result in higher production and must guarantee that this production goes to the state. The issue is that what we procure should be shared efficiently and with justice.

NESTOROWICZ STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN TRADE CITED

LD182108 Warsaw PAP in English 2002 GMT 18 Jan 83

["Minister Nestorowicz on Polish Foreign Trade" -- PAP headline; by Wladyslaw Krajewski and Marta Krolak]

[Text] Warsaw 18 Jan -- "Poland's economic recovery has been mirrored in foreign trade," Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz told a press conference of foreign correspondents held in Warsaw today.

Minister Nestorowicz started with presenting some foreign trade figures for 1982 and prospects for 1983. The minister said that "exports to the socialist countries went up by 20 per cent and imports -- by 1.6 percent and to capitalist countries -- by 5 per cent, with imports going down to 76.8 per cent of the 1981 figure." Exports to developing countries went up by 6.4 percent in 1982, with imports from those countries going slightly down.

A growth was recorded in Poland's exports to Britain, France, Austria and Finland. Exports to Italy in 1982 were similar to those in 1981 (0.4 percent down) [word indistinct] those to West Germany went down by 10 percent, to Sweden -- by 15 percent and to the (?U.S.) -- by 34 percent.

As to Polish imports from advanced capitalist countries, the highest growth was recorded in turnover with Sweden -- by 36 percent, with imports from West Germany going down by 10 per cent, from Finland -- by 15 per cent, France -- (?by) 25 per cent, Italy -- by 30 per cent, and the U.S. -- by 85 per cent. The greatest increase of Polish exports to developing countries referred to trade with Brazil, Iraq, Libya, Morocco and Panama.

Replying to questions Minister Nestorowicz said that [words indistinct] 1982 came up to 3.7 million tonnes against [words indistinct] 1981. "We want to keep these tendencies in 1982," said the minister, adding that the next joint full session of the PUWP CC and [words indistinct] will review problems related to ensuring a bigger grain self-reliance.

Until 1982, in principle, Poland imported grain on credit terms. A three-year Polish-Canadian grain agreement has expired. It is expected that the Canadian authorities will take a stand towards possible extension of that agreement or negotiate on different terms. [sentence as received]

"We are of the opinion that a grain agreement with France is binding also for the economic [words indistinct] Minister Nestorowicz said. The French side is of a different opinion. Negotiations (are being held) in this connection. Negotiations are also carried out with Austria on securing an appropriate structure of grain imports to Poland.

"In this situation we were forced to purchase foreign grain for cash for the first (?quarter) of 1983, " Minister Nestorowicz went on and added "We shall purchase whatever amount is necessary, wherever it is possible and as much as we can afford."

Replying to many other questions about Polish imports of grain, the minister said that no order had been placed for it in Argentina because of costs of transport.

Minister Nestorowicz told the correspondents that negotiations on possible imports of grain were also carried out with the socialist states, that is Hungary, Romania and the Soviet Union.

Answering other questions Minister Nestorowicz presented major figures of oil imports from the USSR to meet Poland's needs. Those imports were set at 12 million 750 thousand tonnes for this year, that is the last year's level.

Imports of oil and oil products from the USSR are to come up to 19.7 million tonnes. The new price for the Soviet oil is 138.9 roubles per one tonne at present, while in 1982 it was 1116.5 roubles. This price is still lower than that used by the OPEC countries. Next, Minister Nestorowicz told the correspondents about imports of some quantities of oil from Iran and 1 million tonnes of Libyan oil.

Replying to another question Minsiter Nestorowicz referred to economic sanctions imposed on Poland by some Western states, stating "lack of formal initiatives on the part of governments" of the countries involved.

As far as contacts with enterprises of advanced countries are concerned, figures reflecting them point out that "we understand one another as we used to from the beginning. The state of a blockade, though this word is perhaps too strong, is still upheld," the minister said. On the other hand concerns view those issues from a different perspective and their representatives come to Poland in their interests.

During the conference Minister Nestorowicz quoted definite data to illustrate the growth of (?exports) of some basic commodities to hard currency markets. In 1982, for example, Poland sold 15.6 million tonnes of coal, 166 thousand tonnes of copper, over 2 million tonnes of sulphur (more than 1981 figures in each case). In 1982 Poland also exported 370 tonnes of silver.

Minister Nestorowicz told foreign newsmen that 360 [word indistinct] companies were operating in Poland at present. Their exports come up to some 8-9 million dollars.

TRADE UNION MINISTER ON RISE OF NEW UNIONS

LD181812 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw 18 Jan -- The birth of new trade unions is a natural process whcih may take a longer time. Should it turn out all of a sudden that several score thousands trade unions came into being day after the trade union law had been passed, then suspicions of manipulation and steering from above would gain currency. This is not a campaign but a process taking place slowly and gradually gaining speed, said Poland's Trade Union Minister Stanislaw Ciosek in an interview for the Polish press agency, PAP, in which he set forth the government position on the new trade unions whose basic factory organizations are now set up all over Poland. The above statement came as an answer to a question how he assessed the conception of building the trade union movement in Poland from scratch.

Minister Ciosek had some comment on the Solidarnosc's myth. He said: Insofar as the myth of Solidarnosc is concerned, then the issue is pretty tangled, as it requires an objective and deepened analysis yet from perspective. It is an indisputable fact all the same that the social philosophy proposed by the Solidarnosc to the working people was an amalgam of the same illusions which we had cherished in the seventies, of the same daydreams of prosperity and power which had not called for self-denial and hard toil, said the minister.

A better living was to be ensured during the seventies by foreign credits and, after the August, by the government which it was enough to grab by the throat to get money, as it had always given it, Minister Ciosek went on. [sentence as received] And that one's own state was being destroyed, often in cold blood, in the process, that was unimportant, if one could daydream about another Japan, if it seemed that everything was possible, suffice it to demand loudly. The illusion and sham hopes with which the Solidarnosc was luring people were easy to decipher. The ebb of support, natural in those months, was followed up by sobering up. People realized ever more clearly that they were politcially manipulated. Time started working against the intentions of Solidarnosc leadership. That was precisely why they chose to push the union to confrontation.

So it was necessary to cut these illusions short and adapt ourselves to the not-too-rosy reality.

We have got a reasonable though difficult programme of persistent coming out of the crisis. Many people wait, however, for promises -- when it will finally be good. The government would be dishonest if it made empty promises, as it does not want to build cheap popularity on empty slogans.

Slow but sure the sense of reality is being born, an understanding of a difficult but the only possible policy today of getting out of the crisis and of Poland's return to European scene as a normal, independent and prosperous state. This aim -- though perhaps overpositivistic and not romantic for some people -- may be also ravishing.

It is the working class and not Solidarnosc leaders who made a breakthrough in the development of Poland. And irrespective of their intentions, an unforgivable error of all inspired Solidarnosc demagogues and politicos was, if not a total waste (for this we luckily managed to avoid just before December 13, 1981) then at least delay and hamper the possibilities to realize a historical chance to reform the social and economic life of our country in accord with the expectations of the Poles.

We are taking this cause now convinced that socialism is not a petrified formation. This stems from its very nature. We have initiated an unprecedented process of reforming socio-economic and political structures. Intentions are obvious here. We clearly state what we have in mind. We shall continue to expand legal guarantees to secure society's participation in the rule of the country, but what we consider a basic condition for getting out of the crisis and a success of the reform is a strong state which must also take unpopular decisions simply to get out of trouble.

There is much injustice and wrongs in everyday life. For this reason only employees need trade unions to have somebody to defend their rights and interests. Setting up trade unions is a natural interest of the working class which is also stronger than attempts to boycott, than today's grudges and (?prejudice). I am convinced that new unions will gradually win the working crews over, that they will take deeper roots and that this will happen calmly, with no pressure whatsoever.

One cannot, however, -- and we do not perceive such a phenomenon -- artificially speed up this social process in spite of the fact that strong trade unions, authentically representing the views and interests of the working class are necessary for both this class and the socialist state.

REINSTATEMENT OF SELF-MANAGEMENT GROUPS

AU181320 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15/16 Jan 83 p 2

[Interview with Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Workers Self-Management Groups, by Slawomir Popowski: "Speeding Up Reinstatement of Work Forces' Self-Management Groups"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The process of reinstating workers self-management groups was clearly accelerated from about mid-November after a period of uncertainty. Several thousands such groups have resumed their performance in enterprises and new groups are being set up all the time. The suspension of martial law has given them new opportunities for development. Sejm Deputy Jozef Baracki discussed these issues in an interview given to your PAP correspondent.

[Question] Work forces have often criticized the process of putting self-management groups back to work as being too slow....

[Answer] This is true. This process was too slow, at least in its initial period. The complicated and often bureaucratic procedures used by the founding bodies and the excessive caution in considering applications for self-management groups were responsible for this slowness. It was only the decisions of the eighth party plenum and of the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers that helped accelerate the reinstatement of self-management groups. Prior to the suspension of martial law, self-management groups were reinstated in 3,500 enterprises run by central and voivodship organs.

Evaluating this period, it should be noted that the opportunity for reintroducing large-scale self-management activity was wasted. If these activities were resumed at an earlier point of time it would have been possible to achieve greater normalization in enterprises and to increase work forces' responsibilities for enterprises' economic performance.

[Question] What changes have been effected in the situation of self-management groups by the suspension of martial law?

[Answer] The suspension canceled the martial law rule that these groups should cease to function and laid down new laws under which the groups can resume their activities. It also defined the restrictions in force during the martia llaw suspension.

[Question] What restrictions?

[Answer] There is a restriction on appointing and dismissing managers, which means that during the martial law suspension the founding bodies will appoint managers in the enterprises that were militarized (the founding bodies will issue lists of such enterprises) and in enterprises that continue to implement operational programs and special tasks. The workers councils will not be able to use their right to object to such appointments. In line with the self-management law, the Council of Ministers has approved a list of over 1,400 enterprises of basic importance for the national economy, whose managers are appointed by the founding bodies. This means that the managers of the enterprises that are not covered by these lists and separate laws are appointed by workers self-management groups. However, it should be stressed that in all cases managers can be appointed only through competition, a procedure that was valid during martial law.

Another restriction is that self-management activities may be suspended for no more than 6 months if they offend against the law or the public interest. Of general nature is the rule that an appeal by the manager of the workers council against a decision made by the founding body does not cancel the implementation of this decision.

[Question] The law says that the founding body should issue within 3 months the decision that self-management groups can resume their activities. After that time self-management groups will be able to resume their activities without agreement of the founding body. Are you not afraid of this rule?

[Answer] No, because this rule defines clearly the procedures to be followed during the martial law suspension, which is regarded as a stage toward the complete normalization of the country's life. Certainly, there is the danger that some self-management groups will want to wait those 3 months in order to resume their activities within the structures that are in conflict with the self-management law. However, such tactics would be useless because self-management groups cannot operate if their structures or statutes are in conflict with the law. It is also possible that the founding body may delay its decision to allow self-management groups to resume their activities, by assuming that there is no need to release the devil of democracy that has been bottled up by law. Such reasoning would also be wrong.

[Question] But there are dangers?

[Answer] I think that we should still be aware of the dangers. For example, the political opponents may want to exploit the process of renewal and some people may adopt a wrong attitude toward it or even hinder it. Insofar as work forces' self-management groups are concerned, our adversaries are continuing the propaganda of boycott, as in the case of trade unions. At the same time there are cases showing that former Solidarity functionaries who have joined workers councils or the presidiums of the councils are trying to promote the principles of the functioning of self-management groups that are in conflict with the law.

This means there is a danger posed by activities which seek to compromise the very idea of self-management or to exploit it in order to disorganize and paralyze the economy. In addition, many conflicts may be caused by the inability of some managers to adapt their activities to the conditions of democratic management. Finally, dangers may be posed by the difficult economic situation. We have already had cases of self-management groups' suspending their own activities because, as they claim, there are no opportunities for them to do their work since there are no raw materials, for example, or since management fails to respect the groups' powers.

[Question] Despite the law in force, many people continue to be afraid of self-management groups. There are even those who, being champions of the managerial methods of implementing the economic reform, question the very existence of these groups.

[Answer] We are reinstating self-management groups under special conditions. The August crisis proved once again that depriving the workers class of its influence on affairs of the state leads to a catastrophe and encourages activities that are in conflict with the working people's interests. The development of self-management groups is an important element of socialist renewal and of the democratisation of management and is the guarantee of the working people's genuine influence on the processes that determine their living conditions. Under the present sociopolitical conditions there can be no question of the success of the economic reform without the participation of the public. It is impossible to impose the reform from above and to have it implemented only by managing cadres. This is a reform involving many sacrifices and burdens supported by the working people, and this is why it must be carried out by workers themselves.

YUGOSLAV COOPERATION GROUP HOLDS TALKS 11-14 JAN

LD151554 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 15 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw 14 Jan — The Polish-Yugoslav Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation held working talks in Warsaw from January 11 to 14. The talks were presided over by Polish Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz and member of Yugoslav Federal Council Spasoje Medenica.

They discussed the results of the 1982 trade exchange and the current state of specialisation and industrial cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia as well as lines of economic cooperation and trade in the years 1983-1985 on the basis of last year's consultations between Polish and Yugoslav planning organs. The sides agreed to resume talks at the turn of this month on a three-year trade agreement for 1983-1985 and this year's trade protocol.

During his visit to Poland Minister Spasoje Medenica was received by deputy prime minister, government Planning Commission head Janusz Obodowski. He also had talks with Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Madej.

REPORTAGE ON USSR RELATIONS, VISITING GROUPS

Scientific, Cultural Agreement

LD140200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Jan 83

[Excerpts] Stanislaw Kociolek, Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today signed a plan for scientific and cultural cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union for the year 1983.

The plan preserves all forms and types of cooperation used last year. As regards scientific cooperation, this year's plan will fully meet our requirements for educating Polish citizens in the Soviet Union and improving the qualifications of our experts and scientific workers. The Soviet side has also assured facilities for the educating and improving the qualifications of teachers of Russian lecturing in Polish universities and schools.

There are also plans for writers, composers and painters to exchange visits. Overall cooperation between publishers, booksellers and printers will be developed. There is a wide scope of cooperation in the sphere of radio and television. It encompasses not only a broad exchange of film materials and radio programs related to sociopolitical questions but films and programs of a high artistic standard.

The stipulations of the plan related to cooperation between state archives, health and social welfare ministries are essential for both sides. The plan for this year certainly constitutes an improvement over last year's plan and is an excellent starting point for further expansion of Polish-Soviet scientific and cultural cooperation.

Jaruzelski Receives Amity Leader

LD162202 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 16 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jan -- On January 15, PUWP CC First Secretary and Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski received chairman of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPPR) and member of the Council of State Stanislaw Wronski.

Acquainting the Polish leader about the TPPR activity in the latest period, Wronski presented plans for developing the TPPR activity to consolidate Polish-Soviet friendship that were discussed by a plenary session of the Main Board.

Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed his recognition for the TPPR activists honestly performing their social functions. He also stressed the need for increasing the impact on public consciousness to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the USSR.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO DRA -- Poland's newly appointed ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Dr Stanislaw Bugala, today presented his credentials to PDPA Central Committee General Secretary and Revolutionary Council Chairman Babrak Karmal. After the ceremony Babrak Karmal, accompanied by Afghan Foreign Minister Mohammad Dost, received Stanislaw Bugala in private audience. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 18 Jan 83 LD]

JAPANESE ENVOY ENDS TOUR -- Warsaw 18 Jan -- Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today Ambassador of Japan to Poland Fujio Hara in connection with the end of his tour of duty to this country. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 18 Jan 83 LD]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES POLAND'S OBODOWSKI FOR TALKS

AU182029 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/1/1983 -- On January 18, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, received, at Predeal resort, Janusz Obodowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Polish People's Republic.

The interview occasioned an exchange of salutes between Nicolae Ceausescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During the talks the sides laid stress on the good relations of friendship and collaboration existing between the RCP and the PUWP, between Romania and Poland, between the two peoples, and expressed the conviction that on grounds of the agreements established between Nicolae Ceausescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski these relations would grow continuously in various domains of joint interest. The sides expressed the wish to develop the economic relations between the two countries, pointing out that many domains of mutually advantageous collaboration existed. The sides highlighted that the expansion of the Romanian-Polish relations in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural, and other planes met the interest of the two countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism, peace, security, and national independence, of cooperation and collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

The sides also exchanged opinions on the evolution of the international political life. In the framework they reasserted the resolve of Romania and Poland to take action together with the other states on the continent, to do everything for making their contribution to the policy of peace and disarmament, detente and respect for the independence of all the peoples, of international understanding and collaboration.

The interview passed in a comradely atmosphere.

CONDOLENCES PRESENTED ON BAKARIC'S DEATH

AU182047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/1/1983 -- Condolences were presented at the Yugoslav Embassy in Bucharest on Tuesday on the death of Vladimir Bakaric, vice-president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Condolences were offered on behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, of the State Council and the government; by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council; Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Vasile Vilcu, member of the State Council; Stan Soare, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Those present observed a moment's silence in front of the black-framed portrait of the deceased and signed the book of condolence.

DASCALESCU RECEIVES CSSR METALLURGY MINISTER

AU181430 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government, today received Eduard Saul, CSSR minister of metallurgy and heavy industry, who is visiting our country at the head of a CSSR trade delegation.

On this occasion the two sides discussed the stage of economic cooperation between the two countries and of fulfilling tasks and measures established during talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president.

At the same time the sides positively assessed the development of comprehensive relations between Romania and the CSSR and stressed that possibilities exist to continue to diversify and expand mutually advantageous cooperation, including in the fields of machine-building and metallurgy.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES ON VISIT

AU182000 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/1/1983 -- Ilter Turkmen, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, arrived in Bucharest on January 18 in the evening, to pay an official visit to Romania. The guest was welcomed at the Otopenia Airport by Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, and by other officials.

CEAUSESCU VISITS VARIOUS BRASOV ENTERPRISES

AU181924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/1/1983 -- On January 18, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, general secretary of the RCP, paid a working visit to Brasov municipality.

The head of the RCP and of the Romanian state was accompanied by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, and by Marin Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Brasov County Committee of the RCP.

The new visit occasioned a thorough exigent analysis of the achievements succeeded so far, and of the possibilities and ways in which the industry of Brasov county can make a greater contribution to the implementation of the present five-year plan, of the targets set by the 12th congress and by the RCP National Conference.

The president visited the lorry enterprise, the mechanical enterprise No. 2, a unit specialised in hydromechanic equipment, and the enterprise for aeronautical equipment.

Setting out from the important role of Brasov County in the Romanian economy -- this is the largest supplier of tractors, lorries, internal-combustion engines, bearings, dyestuff and other products meant for the domestic market and exports -- the head of the RCP and of the Romanian state, and relevant ministers, representatives of the local party and state bodies, workers and experts looked into the measures to be taken for ensuring the implementation of the tasks planned for 1983. There were tackled mainly problems related to modernizing and diversifying production, to assimilation of new complex machinery and parts of better features, the expansion of use of modern technologies to the end of a rational use of the raw materials, recovery and reshaping of various parts, efficient use of the production areas, etc.

Assessing the efforts made for a proper organization of labour in the visited enterprises, and their results so far, President Nicolae Ceausescu asked the responsible factors, the experts, the work collectives to take energetic action for turning out all the products planned for this year, to take the technical and organizational measures needed for proper fulfillment in due time of the tasks concerning exports.

Proceeding shortly before the celebration of 50 years of revolutionary activity of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of his birthday, a dear event in the country, the visit to the Brasov municipality has meant for all those living and working there -- Romanians, Magyars, Germans -- a fortunate occasion to express directly and warmly to the most beloved and esteemed son of the Romanian people their feelings of love, esteem and gratitude and the wish of long healthy life and power to work, of long years at the head of the RCP and of the Romanian state, to the advantage and happiness of the people, to the glory of Socialist Romania.

SCINTEIA ARTICLE DISCUSSES SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

AU121946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 12 Jan 83

["Socialist Romania - A State of Worker, Revolutionary Democracy" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES. 12/1/1983 -- SCINTEIA prints in its January 12 issue an article running under the above headline, signed by Professor L. Lorincz D., and lecturer Marin Neagu D., showing that:

The process of our state's transformation into a state of worker democracy traversed two stages: The first stage which lasted till the 9th Congress of the RCP (1965), and the second, which started with it and continues. From the very beginning, with the establishment of the working people's power, with the abolition of the private ownership on the means of production and the start of implementation of the socialist principle of distribution of the social product and national income, foundations were laid for the building of the largest democracy mankind has ever known. Stressing that in the first period the absolutization of the economic determinism in societal development generated the idea that the affirmation and improvement of socialist democracy result naturally from the development of the productive forces, the authors stress that history has demonstrated that the unity between socialism and democracy does not emerge spontaneously. The conquest of the political power and then the building of the economic and technical-material base of socialism are only the political and economic framework, the objective prerequisites which render necessary and possible the building and deepening of socialist democracy. The transformation of possibility into reality is the doing of the leading political factor of society, the communist party, of its political-organizational and cultural-educative activity, of the people's turning into an active subject of history, of its participation in the actual leadership of society.

Thanks to the innovating line impressed upon Romania's history by the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the party, at head with Nicolae Ceausescu, deployed persevering and steady activity for the improvement of the social relations as a whole, and, in this frame, paid utmost attention to the development of socialist democracy.

The affirmation and application of the principles of socialist democracy was realized in a complex and long social process.

Thanks to the activity unfolded by the party for the improvement of the socio-economic management, for the development of socialist democracy, a broad institutional and organizational framework was built, made up of the Romanian Communist Party, the socialist state and its bodies, the bodies of a twofold nature - party and state, the socialist democracy and unity front, the forms of direct participation of the masses, of the whole people in governing the society. The present governing system of society means equally a qualitative leap of historical importance in the social nature of the state power in our society: the transformation of the state into a state of worker, revolutionary democracy.

The authors then refer to the salient features of the state of worker, revolutionary democracy.

The state of worker, revolutionary democracy is the genuine representative of people's sovereignty, since the whole power emanates from the people and belongs to the people which exercises it through the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils.

Of course, the socialist state retains its distinct feature vis-a-vis the other component parts of the system of societal government. It has a specialized apparatus to perform its multiple functions and ultimately uses its coercive force in view of maintaining the public order and quiet, protecting the people's revolutionary conquests, the national independence and sovereignty.

In conditions of speeded up social development, of increased scope and complexness of the socio-economic tasks, of more marked passage to a new quality in all domains of social activity, the role of the state of worker democracy is permanently increasing. Under the current conditions, the state's activity grows, especially with regard to the organization and accurate implementation of the political decisions. The enforcement in proper conditions, in due time and efficiently of the political decisions acquires the crucial importance on which the success of policy itself decisively depends. The state and its bodies cannot be replaced by anyone, hence by the party bodies neither. No other social organization can fill in for the state, as none has the necessary capacity and means to discharge this historic mission. The growing role of the state in running the whole economic and social activity is organically related to the strengthening of the popular mass' control over the activity of its bodies, to the process of steady improvement of socialist democracy in all its political, economic and social aspects.

In the current stage, a correct correlation has been achieved, of the party and the state, with the party and the state organically completing each other within the system of worker democracy. Within this organical blending of the activity, the party performs its leading role in multiple forms and by various means, especially ideological and political, while the state is especially centered on the political transformation of the policy into organizational-executive actions. The party, as a vital centre of functioning of the socialist society, has the lofty mission to organize and actuate the whole socio-economic activity. The state promotes to the rank of law the orientations crystalized in political decisions, thus making them compulsory to the whole of society.

The party is vitally interested in strengthening the proper functioning of the state and its bodies, of the whole system of worker democracy, since the better the state functions, the more complete is the democracy and the more powerful the leading political role of the party.

In the current development stage of socialist democracy in Romania, the combination and interrelation has become necessary of the activity of the state power with that of the other forms of socio-economic organization and management, thus ending the state's millennary alienation from society. The societal management is performed through a broad democratic system in conditions of decoupling the centres of political decision in which the state is only a specific modality of social leadership. Besides the forms of statal democracy, a system of broadly democratic bodies has been created, from basic socio-economic units up to national bodies; the management councils and the general meetings of working people, the congresses and various national management councils on a central plane, which ensure a vast democratic framework for the masses', the nation's participation in governing the society. The guiding idea of improvement of the whole social management and organization is the blending of the forms of representative, statal democracy with the forms of worker self-management based on the popular mass' direct participation in decision-making at every echelon.

Starting from the laws of social development, from Romania's historical and national realities, a matchless system of governing the society was built, which is superior to any bourgeois democracy, a system that ensures the whole people's actual participation in the purposeful building of its own destiny.

SOME LENIN THEORIES ON REVOLUTION SUPERCEDED

AU181207 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 17 January carries on page 2 a 2,400-word article by Eugen Florescu, "The Earth in Movement," a commentary on sociopolitical writings and theories. Contrary to various named Western philosophers, the author claims that the revolution remains the only viable means to social and political change and that despite the bourgeois and capitalist manipulation of the working class, "the transition to socialism is the essence of mankind's movement," and is inevitable.

The author then proceeds to discuss other issues: "The subject of revolution, the means of staging it, and prospects foreseeable along this line," and states:

"We will be very frank and state that generally speaking, in the socialist countries -- and to a certain extent this is also true of our specialists -- one notes a lack of courage to tackle all the aspects of the problem frontally and scientifically, and attempts to provide answers do not measure up to the complexity of world realities. For a lengthy period of time (until 1965), the experience of the Russian Revolution and Lenin's tactics and strategy were taken over and reproduced exclusively and almost religiously. Although at a certain point Lenin himself defined the revolution as 'bloody and not bloody' and left an opening for peaceful revolution, the passage most often cited was the one stating that 'the petty bourgeois democrats, those so-called socialists ... imagined the socialist change in a dreamy way,' 'in the form of peaceful submission.'" (Vol 25, p 397) Florescu continues by adding that the texts of that time cited with great satisfaction one passage from Marx stating that "violence is the midwife of any old society that is to give birth to a new one," and that "violence itself is an economic factor," etc., ignoring the fact that, despite general appearances, Marx was referring to the means through which the bourgeoisie had come to power.

"Naturally, the revolution that occurred in the area of Romanian social sciences was a historical necessity formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu -- 'Let us think with our own heads' -- has been fully verified." To which the author adds: "While Lenin's concept was valid for the first half of the century, an entirely new outlook of the revolution has been emerging in the latter part of the century."

From there the author goes on to cite a Romanian theorist's analysis of the situation in the capitalist countries, and his conclusion that the fall of the capitalist is inevitable.

BRIEFS

NEW CUBAN AMBASSADOR -- Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 13 January received Comrade Rodney Lopez Clemente, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to our country, in connection with his forthcoming accreditation. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 83 p 5 AU]

COMMEMORATION ACTIVITIES FOR BAKARIC CONTINUE

Report on Funeral

LD182020 [Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1058 GMT on 18 January begins a live relay from the Hall of the Croat Assembly of the funeral of Dr Vladimir Bakaric, former vice president of the SFRY Presidency. The announcer states that Bakaric's widow and children are present as are Stambolic, Kraigher, Hodza, Zarkovic, Mijatovic, Vlajkovic, Kolisevski and Cvetkovic, all members of the SFRY Presidency who form the final guard of honor. At 1100 GMT members of the Yugoslav People's Army place the coffin on a gun carriage while solemn music is heard. The announcer notes that the Yugoslav flag is flying at half mast throughout Croatia.

Jovo Ugrcic, president of the Croat Assembly, begins the eulogy at 1109 GMT by stating that, with the deaths of Kardelj and Tito, Bakaric's demise is an irreparable loss for Yugoslavia because his contribution to the development of the Yugoslav revolutionary movement was inestimable. Ugrcic outlines the moral courage which prompted Bakaric to join the Communist Party as a young student and recalls Bakaric's work in Zagreb against the Ustashe, his activities during the national liberation struggle and his correct views on Croats and Serbs living together in Croatia.

Ugrcic recalls that Bakaric was the first premier of Croatia after World War II and declares that Bakaric was the "first man in the republic" until his death. Bakaric was an outstanding Marxist and a political realist who contributed enormously to the development of Yugoslavia's social system. No one except Kardelj made such a large theoretical contribution to the socio-political makeup of modern Yugoslavia. Ugrcic ends his eulogy at 1124 GMT.

At 1125 GMT Mato Mikic, president of the Zagreb City Assembly, begins to speak. He outlines Bakaric's career as a Communist Party official and an associate of Tito. His eulogy ends at 1135 GMT.

At 1126 GMT the funeral procession moves from Radic Square, outside the Croat Assembly building, toward Mirogoj cemetery. Solemn music interspersed with commentary on the funeral procession is broadcast until 1249 GMT, when the procession approaches the Tomb of the Heroes, where Bakaric will be buried. The SFRY national anthem is played at 1304 GMT and the announcer states that Bakaric's family as well as leading representatives of both the federation and the republics are at the grave. Milka Planinc heads the Federal Executive Council delegation, Lazar Mojsov heads the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs delegation and Mitja Ribicic leads the LCY Central Committee Presidium delegation.

Jure Bilic, president of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee Presidium, begins his eulogy at 1305 GMT. He describes Bakaric as one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians of the Yugoslav revolution. After recalling Bakaric's prolonged fight against illness and the fact that he fulfilled his federal and republican duties despite his illness, Bilic recalls Bakaric's work to reestablish the Yugoslav Communist Party after it was banned by the 6 January dictatorship. Bilic notes that Bakaric was instrumental in realigning Croatian intelligentisa along progressive, Marxist lines and was one of the foremost Marxist theoreticians as well as being able to translate theory into practice. Bakaric studied national and class problems and made it clear that Yugoslav self-management is not a substitute for socialism, but a stage between capitalism and communism. Bilic's eulogy ends at 1327 GMT.

At 1328 GMT, Petar Stambolic beings to speak. He states that Bakaric was one of the most prominent people who waged the national liberation struggle with Tito. Stambolic notes that Bakaric fought throughout his life for both the Croatian and Yugoslav people and always follwed Tito's political line.

His lucid theoretical work helped to solve many problems. Stambolic finishes speaking at 1335 GMT.

At 1336 GMT, the coffin is lowered into the grave. Three artillery salvos are fired and two factory sirens are heard in the distance. After solemn music is broadcast, a choir sings the "Internationale." The live relay ends at 1341 GMT.

Stambolic Eulogy

LD182022 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Eulogy by Petar Stambolic, president of the State Presidency of the SFRY]

[Text] We are taking leave today of Comrade Vladimir Bakaric. We are taking leave with sentiments of great respect and boundless gratitude for everything he has done for the Yugoslav socialist revolution. Yugoslavia has lost a great personality, the League of Communists has lost a prominent member and leader, and all of us have lost a comrade-in-arms, comrade and friend.

Vladimir Bakaric belongs to the generation of Yugoslav Communists who joined the Communist Party in the early 1930's and who were tempered by and bore much in the struggle against the 6 January dictatorship when that regime was cruelly settling accounts with the working class and its vanguard. That was the generation of communists, workers and intellectuals who gathered around Josip Broz Tito, fought with him and prepared for the crucial 1940's in order to raise the insurrection in their enslaved country, usher in the armed revolution of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities and lead it to victory. With its blood and with its deeds, it made an enormous contribution to victory over fascism and the bourgeoisie. In that generation of communists, Tito found comrades-in-arms in the difficult and dramatic struggle which we waged for socialism, self-management, independence and a free life of our country.

The great personalities who stood in the front lines of our revolution grew up in that struggle, and Vladimir Bakaric was one of the most prominent. These people rounded off a magnificent epoch of our revolution while leaving to the generations and the fighters coming after them their greatest achievements -- the power of the working class, fraternal community of equal nations and nationalism, the self-management socialist system, and free and independent Yugoslavia.

During all of the stages of our national liberation struggle and socialist construction, Vladimir Bakaric participated in the biggest battles as a party and military leader, and as a statesman and ideologist. This great son of the Croat people fought with equal ardor for the freedom and rights both of the Croats and of all other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, as well as for equality, brotherhood and unity.

His human and revolutionary virtues fully came to the fore in the movement in which he grew up and to which, in return, he contributed all of his life.

Vladimir Bakaric was at the center of social events in all the stages of our struggle, making his large personal contribution: In 1937 when Tito became the head of the party; in 1941 as the organizer and leader of the insurrection in Croatia, as the organizer of the national liberation army of Croatia and of the organs of revolutionary people's power; as an active participant in the great battles for international recognition of the new Yugoslavia and preservation of the achievements of our revolution; in 1948 when we had to resist Stalin's pressure and continue along our independent path of socialist construction; in the 1950's when we adopted the law on handing the factories over the workers' management; in the 1960's when we carried out economic and social reform and were freeing ourselves of the restraints of bureaucratic etatism; in the 1970's when, with workers' amendments and the new Constitution, we started the difficult struggle of the further all-round development of self-management and of socialist democracy and when we were building new relations in the federation on the basis of self-management.

In all these stages, in all these tasks of the revolution, Bakaric always excelled as a resolute fighter and creator.

He was a Marxist intellectual with enormous knowledge, rich culture and wide-ranging horizons. His contribution to the development of our economic thought is of great importance. What excelled in his economic work was his lucid thought imbued with a profound knowledge of Marx's work. Vladimir Bakaric was firm and steady whenever there was a question of defending the line and the policy of the party. He did not get lost in pragmatism; he warned against its dangers. He was always farsighted. Dogmatism was alien to him. Vladimir Bakaric had a fine feel for the complexity both of intranational relations and of conditions in which we built and developed them. He joined the discussions with all seriousness and made an invaluable contribution to solving those problems in our social and economic development which could have become sources of nationalism. His involvement in our collective work was enormous. Although his personality, calmness and fragile health gave the impression that he was a calm person, Bakaric was essentially a dynamic personality and ardent fighter.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and all the nations and nationalities of our country, we are today taking leave of Comrade Vlado Bakaric with deep respect for his personality and with gratitude for his revolutionary deeds. Dear Comrade Vlado, you led an honest life. You fulfilled your debt as a man and a revolutionary (?to the end). Eternal glory and gratitude to you, our Comrade Vladimir Bakaric.

PRC, USSR Condolences

LD181430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 18 Jan 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency and Presidium of the LCY Central Committee have been receiving telegrams of condolences from foreign statesmen and politicians and from the highest-ranking party and state organs throughout the world in connection with the death of Dr Vladimir Bakaric.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, in their joint telegram to the LCY Central Committee and SFRY Presidency, express profound sorrow at the death of Dr Vladimir Bakaric. The telegram states that Dr Bakaric was a prominent party and state leader of Yugoslavia, a veteran of the revolution and a close associate and wartime comrade of President Tito. Bakaric's contribution on the struggle for the liberation and development of socialist Yugoslavia is also pointed out.

The CPSU Central Committee and Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet have sent a telegram of condolences which expresses profound sorrow at the death of Dr Vladimir Bakaric, prominent Yugoslav political worker, vice president of the SFRY Presidency and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

MOJSOV DEPARTS FOR SWITZERLAND; WILL HOLD TALKS

LD191214 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 19 Jan 83

[Text] Belgrade 19 Jan (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, left on an official visit to Switzerland at noon today. During his 2-day stay in Bern, Federal Secretary Lazar Mojsov will have talks with Pierre Aubert, president of the Swiss Federation and head of the Federal Foreign Affairs Department.

Lazar Mojsov was seen off at Belgrade airport by Momcilo Vuckovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov, will stay in Switzerland until 21 January.

CROATIA'S BILIC GRANTS INTERVIEW TO VJESNIK

AU140955 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 82, 1, 2, 3 Jan 83 PP 6-7

["Excerpts" of an interview with Jure Bilic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, by Miroslav Lezaje, Nino Pavic and Pero Pletikosa of VJESNIK -- place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What kind of role do you think the League of Communists should play in these difficult and complex economic and social conditions?

[Answer] This presents some people with great dilemmas. The sixth congress [November 1952] decided that the party should play a different role in society, that it should have no monopoly, but should nevertheless be the moving force of all the social institutions. This congress had its shortcomings, it watered down the party, and since then we have constantly been uncertain about whether the party should remain a classic party or transform itself into a -- conditionally speaking -- social democratic party.

Because of these two extremes, we have not yet clearly defined the proper role of the party in practice. Unfortunately, few people in general are dealing with party theory and practice. The League of Communists contains elements of a classic party and these difficulties pull it even more in that direction. Will it take everything in its hands in these difficult times of economic and social transformation, will it avoid the liberal premise which is being offered and find its proper place? This is its biggest dilemma at the moment. Therefore, one may say that it is undergoing a revolutionary transformation, both in the leadership and in the basic organizations.

Speaking about the party, we must analyze and assess the situation in society itself. The economic difficulties are as they are, and we all know that the social institutions, the state and the self-managing ones, are not functioning as they should because the difficulties are shaking them also. What is positive in this respect is that it has been seen that we can no longer live in this old way.

A contemporary economic society such as ours nowadays demands an integration of the economy on self-managing foundations which will be able to carry social reproduction. We do not now have enough of this integrational self-managing organization of the economy, and the economy is therefore not able to accept such a role in society.

The dilemma now is how to get out of these difficulties. Should the state intervene with its instruments or should self-management be the protagonist of development? This is also reflected in philosophy and in discussions about economic policy.

[Question] But it is clear even now what the consequences of such a policy are. We have spent a great deal of accumulation in advance.

[Answer] It means that we should now see which economic policy would prevent consumption from expanding beyond our reach and beyond our possibilities. Considering that we have a great legacy of consumption from the past, we must have a respite of 2 or 3 years and we must confine ourselves to the projects that we are completing now, and invest in and complement the existing economic projects that would be subordinate to the strategic orientation toward exports. I would say that a retrenchment should follow, but this retrenchment should not be in stagnation but in development subordinated to exports.

One should also answer the question of why republican statism negotiated and imposed a policy at the federal level in which the federal and the republican instruments of economic policy served this development, but self-managing associated labor stayed outside. What is the possible way out?

The party is in a situation where it should solve fundamental, social decisions of economic policy. One should see whether the economic policy for 1983 and the directions of development serve to antagonize economic subjects or to associate them. If they do not stimulate the subjective forces to solve these economic tasks, we must seriously analyze it.

Like all the professional and scientific forces of society, the party should monitor these matters and quickly improve the instruments of economic policy and ensure that our development is in line with our actual material possibilities.

The party should assume this task and gather around itself all the mental forces of society and the institutions of the sociopolitical system.

[Question] Problems of disintegration appear not merely in administrative and economic structures but in the party, though the party should be united and therefore also an integrating force.

[Answer] All that we have discussed is also reflected in the League of Communists. We have six republican and two provincial party organizations and the economic relations are also reflected in the party and the leaderships. Skill is needed so that the party and the leadership perceive all the dangers that appear in the economic and social spheres and so that the League of Communists and Yugoslavia as a whole draw lessons from the development to date.

The same opinions come to the fore when we have discussions in central party organs or the SFRY Assembly. This means that the party leaderships are burdened by the same things that burden the republican and provincial assemblies. But some kind of centralism would be dangerous. And such tendencies exist.

The strength of the party should be in seeing what is bad for Yugoslavia and, in the long run, for every federal unit. This is a very delicate question.

Some people think that the republican central committees and the provincial committees are independent organizations which express the interests of their communities. When synthesis is to be made at the Yugoslav level, consensus appears in the LCY and its Central Committee. This is an objective matter which we must take into account. However, the question of whether an interest should be realized every day or whether it is more important to make sure of long-term matters -- the equality of the republics and provinces, the nations and nationalities -- is a question that practically remains open in the party.

All these contradictions are manifested in the LCY Central Committee particularly when great difficulties appear. Consensus then becomes the practice, although it does not always provide long-term solutions for relations in Yugoslavia. Objectively speaking, our practical relations are not clarified.

Unity is created in party leaderships when matters get absurd, when it is a matter of do or die. Frankly speaking, it is like that. It is relatively easy to attain unity in strategic matters, but it is difficult to reach it in practical politics.

Should only the Central Committee and its Presidium, at any level, clarify these things? Sometimes we dramatize the differences that appear. They should not overly disturb us. We must get used to them. After all, the whole world is experiencing such seething and searching.

Even the leaderships of the countries and parties of real socialism say that something should be changed in this respect. They are even more burdened by these problems. In our country, some opinions are being voiced that the system of delegate assemblies should be changed and proposals are made that exceed the framework of what we have decided. A proper measure of moderation must be found.

All this emanates from being burdened with so-called pure democracy, as Engels would have called it, and democracy which would be a feature of associated labor, which Marx spoke about. These theses and this ideological and political clarification are facing us.

[Question] What is the possibility that subjective political factors will find a way out of the present crisis?

[Answer] Now, for instance, Yugoslav society faces the dilemma of whether or not coupons should be introduced for the supply of some articles. It is pointed out that we do not need coupons. They really would not be necessary if in a year or two we could attain a level of industrial production and exports that would enable us to import what we need for general consumption.

But considering that the feeling for this has not yet been created in society and unless we do everything in our power, we objectively move toward coupons despite the political position that we should not move toward them because they kill incentive.

Subjective factors should change the climate. It is easier to change the climate with the subjective forces than to display all the social instruments of economic policy. This is our only reserve. That is why we have a relatively positive political atmosphere. It seems to be that we cannot behave in any other way: The shortages have had their useful side too, an awareness is being created that one can no longer live and work in the old way, for we lack objective strength for it.

[Question] Is not the party pushed to deal with matters which it should leave alone?

[Answer] The situation is difficult and it demands that everybody deal with economic problems. There is something good in this, but it should be of short duration. The party must strengthen all the social institutions, but sometimes they fail and because there is not much time, one turns to direct interventions. Sometimes -- when the League of Communists is strengthening the system and improving it -- these are necessary.

[Question] The strengthening of some liberal and nationalist tendencies has been felt in society recently.

[Answer] Pseudoliberalism is on the offensive now, and it is a great offensive. Those who oppose it are immediately labeled regime supporters. It seems that this term has become derogatory. I am publicly and loudly stating that I am a "regime supporter," and I am one who wishes to change this socialist society for the better. People frequently give way to and adjust to this pseudoliberal trend. It must be understood, however, that pseudoliberalism in our country can serve only those who want a return to to administrative and state forms of management. Every science always contain several theories. It is the same in our economic science and now it is turn of politics to choose the theory which suits our course of self-management. There are milestones in society, in ideology, politics, culture or economics. Our milestone is self-management which leads to a more humane, more democratic society, an association of free producers.

CROATIAN SAWP BODY DISCUSSES DEFENSE, PROTECTION

AU152023 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 83 p 6

[Text] TANJUG -- The Coordination Committee for National defense and Social self-protection of the Croatian SAWP republican conference concluded yesterday that great results have been achieved in socializing, developing and strengthening defense and protection in our society, but that the socialist alliance should concern itself even more extensively and responsibly with these questions, especially in local communities and among its rank and file members and in this connection should rid itself of the forum method of work and activity.

This is demanded by our concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection which is being constantly further developed and enriched with new substance. It is especially demanded at this time when the international situation is constantly deteriorating and the internal enemy, in alliance with external enemies, is searching for cracks for activities of his little groups. It is with the broadest action within the framework of the front of organized socialist forces that the roots of all forms of hostile activity must be cut. In this connection, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the brotherhood and unity and equality of all our peoples and nationalities are an inexhaustible force and source of our defense and protection. It was pointed out that the occurrences of nationalist excesses such as those at soccer, basketball and other sports events at which the enemies openly sing and chant hostile slogans should not be left without resolute reaction.

Members of the committee called attention to such phenomena as economic crimes, enrichment without work and various forms of usurpation of authority which demand even more resolute action of all forces, especially the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations, in even more sharply opposing these phenomena.

It was stated that the role of information dissemination is indispensable in this entire activity, and it was emphasized that information should be provided in good time and clearly should not observe any great "taboo topics." It was recalled in this connection, for instance, that the working people and citizens were not informed in good time about the excesses of the clerical-nationalist and militant forces at the Lascina student dormitory, something that should not have happened.

REPORT ON SERBIAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS SESSION

AU141915 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Dusan Drazic and Velisa Krsmanovic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Jan -- the main struggle for economic stabilization and the further development of self-managing relations must be waged in the basic organizations of the League of Communists. It is only through organized and resolute actions in the basic cells of the League of Communists and associated labor and in local communities that significant results can be achieved and difficulties overcome more quickly. This is the message of today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia which was presided over by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and which discussed the current problems and tasks in ideological and action training of the basic organizations of the League of Communists of Serbia. The introductory report was delivered by Vukasin Loncar, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia.

"The general orientation is that we can win the struggle for socioeconomic stabilization primarily by relying on our own forces. And these work and creative forces are primarily to be found at the grass roots of the society," Vukasin Loncar said.

"If we set in motion these and other forces to an even greater extent and in the right way to solve specific problems of life, we will certainly successfully overcome the present complex and difficult situation. We must know that this struggle will be neither easy nor brief. It is precisely for this reason that our responsibility for setting in motion these forces and preparing them for this action is all the greater."

Just as always in the past, under the conditions of difficulties and contradictions in our social development, various socialist and conservative forces are more strongly raising their voices. They are aiming the sharp edge of their criticism against the League of Communists, self-management and the achievements and values of our revolution. Their prime targets are brotherhood and unity and equality of our peoples and nationalities and our socialist togetherness. This criticism manifests itself through various forms ranging from nationalism and clericalism to ultraleftism, liberalism, dogmatism and open irredentism. Their open and intensified manifestation and aggressiveness are not the result of their greater strength but of the weakness, opportunism and passiveness of the League of Communists organizations and other subjective forces of society. As was stated, we must react in good time and resolutely against these counterrevolutionary phenomena and forces in all spheres of social work and life.

At today's session, the work and activities of the basic organizations of the League of Communists in Serbia were analyzed in detail. In a considerable number of communities, these organizations regularly concern themselves with the ideological-political problems of increasing production, advancing work and economic operations as well as acquiring and distributing income. In these communities, the League of Communists is the motive force which contributes to developing self-management and more quickly overcoming difficulties. However, there are quite a few basic organizations of the League of Communists which are not at the center of the struggle that is now in full swing. The sharp appraisal was even made that some basic organizations are ready for all kinds of compromises or are inactive even though the tasks are numerous and there are more than enough problems and difficulties. The most difficult fact to accept in this connection is that such basic organizations are left at the sidelines and that the communal committees concerned make no efforts to activate them.

In a considerable number of basic organizations of the League of Communists, members do not actively participate in or essentially influence the ideological trends. In addition to hostile irredentist activities, the nationalist, clericalist, ultraleftist and liberalist forces are also becoming active. In many communities, Communists are insufficiently sensitive to recognizing, or are not resolute in the struggle against nationalism and other hostile phenomena. The views and opinions differing from those that are imposed by certain groups are being discriminated against in various spheres and in various ways. Communists do not always react to all these phenomena with resolute and clear views.

Some basic organizations of the League of Communists in culture and the public information media have become ideologically and politically inert to such an extent that major ideological mistakes have occured and anticommunist ideologies have appeared in their communities, something which very negatively affects all sociopolitical and especially intranational relations. Many basic organizations of the League of Communists in these communities fail to concern themselves in a thorough and fully responsible manner with the ideological aspects and political consequences of the performance of their basic activities, although these activities are extraordinarily important for forming ideological awareness, especially among the younger generation.

It is known from past experience that wherever the basic organizations of the League of Communists is passive and inactive, the opponents of the self-managing society know how to exploit such passiveness.

They see a way out of the increased economic and other difficulties in a centralistically organized party or they launch a frontal attack against the League of Communists under the pretext that it has lost its vanguard ability to more quickly solve the problems and difficulties faced by society. The oppositional attacks against the League of Communists and the social institutions because of an alleged "suppression of freedom" have become particularly fasionable. The League of Communists which constantly strives to widen democratic relations and human freedoms must react more resolutely and quickly to these phenomena.

To strengthen the role and position of the basic organizations of the League of Communists and enable them to really become the basic subjective factor or politics and of ideological political activity, it is necessary to change the method of work and behavior of organs of the League of Communists ranging all the way from communes to the Central Committee.

SERBIA'S CKREBIC VIEWS CRITICISM, ATTACKS ON LCY

AU141930 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 83 p 5

[Lj. Zorkic, D. Pajic and S. Cedic report on speech by Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, at the sixth session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee in Belgrade on 12 January.]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the debate on the ideological and action preparedness of the basic organizations of the League of Communists, Dusan Ckrebic emphasized certain, in his view, vital problems for the more successful work of the basic organizations of the League of Communists.

If we carefully follow what is happening and what is taken as a target by specific opposition circles, what issues are being raised and attacked, we will note that the most frequent target of these attacks is the League of Communists, Ckrebic said. This is also not incidental when it is well known that the League of Communists is the real social force capable of assembling on a common socialist platform the broadest masses of working people and all progressive and creative forces of our society.

The attacks on the League of Communists and the labels which have recently been publicly set forth, for instance, in the periodical SOCIOLOGIJA issues No. 2 and 3 of last year, or in the periodical TEORIJA issues No. 3 and 4 of last year, should not be left without an answer and comment, because what is involved here are many issues and matters on which the League of Communists holds a different view.

Ckrebic said that what is involved is the claim that in our country a metaphysical view of the party, as an infallible mediator of historic truth, continues to be the dominant concept; that the party in our country is referred to as a mythological being; that the state is the sole advocate of the togetherness of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and a defender of ideas and socialism; that the League of Communists have remained loyal to the Bolshevik tradition and its low level of criticism and political democracy; and that the League of Communists is a dogmatic party....

We subsidize Our Own Opposition

What is involved here is neither a struggle of views nor a dialogue. As is well known, when one takes the authors that are involved here, what is involved is power, whether we or they should be at the helm.

I believe that the League of Communists cannot view all this calmly, cannot watch how they besmirch it and how they spit at it. It cannot behave as if nothing at all is happening. We are perhaps the only society which from the income of its workers wholeheartedly helps and financially subsidizes through periodicals and other ways its own opposition, Ckrebic stressed and continued:

recalling Kardelj's words that two fronts exist in Yugoslavia -- those who are in favor of socialist self-management and the front of opponents which should not be underestimated -- Ckrebic said:

The socialist and democratic forces must firmly stand their ground. Our society did not come about by way of parliamentary changes, by a peaceful transition to a new social system, socialism, but rather by means of an armed struggle of the people in which the fronts were clearly divided on a class basis. I believe that this fact is frequently and in some cases intentionally disregarded, particularly now when we are moving away from the armed part of the revolution. I would say that the renewed attempts at denying a class character to our revolution and at reducing the revolution to a brutal and bare struggle against the occupier, while ascribing the party autonomous dogmatic characteristics, are along the line of preparing ideological scope for new attacks and making room for nominating bourgeois ideologies for a dialogue on an equal footing. The same goes for the claim that only nationalism and Stalinism should not be publicly given a place and opportunity, while all the rest depends on the extent of talent. In connection with these claims, a multitude of questions are certainly raised: What has happened to self-management as the basic social relationship? What has happened to the nonaligned policy and our independence? What has happened to the LCY constitutional position?

What Is Involved Is a Conflict

When the League of Communists must struggle against conservative forces today, also including pseudoliberals, and their ideology and policy, some people view freedom as something above society, above its class contradiction, as ideological and political conflicts which are based precisely on these contradictions. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that what is involved here is not a discussion at all, not an exchange of views, not a struggle of views; what is involved here are real social contradictions, a conflict of contradictory interests which mutually rule each other out. Therefore, there is no dialogue here nor can there be.

I believe that for this reason it is very important that the League of Communists should assess in a politically refined, sensitive and careful way what is in accordance with the line of the further development of self-management and real interests of the workers class, what is in accordance with the direction of the further development of democratic relations and what belongs to the arsenal of social contradictions, irrespective of democratic phraseology, Dusan Ckrebic said.